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[The Editor will be pleased to consider manuscripts if accompanied by stamped and addressed envelopes. He accepts no responsibility, however, for manuscripts submitted to him.]

Events of the Week.

THE Battle of the Aisne, which has now lasted for a full twenty days, already ranks with that of Mukden as the longest in history. The news grows every day more meagre, and even the staff officer attached to the British force as official correspondent has sent us nothing but a discourse on the German system of espionage and some remarks on the weather and the flies. The effort of the Allies to turn von Kluck's flank in the west progresses, and is now probably on the verge of success. But it is known that the Germans have received large reinforcements from the east, and their forces are now thrown out in échelon formation on a north and south line which runs, roughly speaking, at right angles to the line of the Aisne from the Forest of the Eagle at the confluence of the Oise and the Aisne towards Péronne. The Allied forces have been fighting round Péronne itself, which has been taken and retaken at least twice by each side. The last French official telegram reported a violent engagement, which turned in our favor, in the Roye region further south. The German official news has spoken of fighting north and south of Albert, much further to the north-west, near Amiens. All this news is old, and the turning movement is now probably much more advanced and much nearer to the vital lines of communication than the telegrams suggest. The aim of this movement must be primarily to get across von Kluck's communications on the Maubeuge-Le Cateau-La Fère railway line. Judging from the place names in the telegrams, which is all we have to go by, there is still a good deal of ground to cover before the movement can be completed.

ELSEWHERE along the vast line, frontal attacks by the Allies have been discontinued. The Germans deliver intermittent counter-attacks and bombard our lines with their heavy guns, but there are now long pauses and days of relative calm. In the east the enemy's flanking movement prospered up to a point. A force coming from Metz has managed to pierce the line of the Verdun-Toul forts, has occupied St. Mihiel, got a few miles across the Meuse, and threatened (perhaps silenced) the forts of Paroches and Roman Camp. It has, however, encountered fierce counter-attacks from Toul, and the whole movement, after one very threatening phase, has ceased to cause disquiet, chiefly, no doubt, because the Germans have been compelled to detach the forces required for this operation to the relief of von Kluck.

THIS week has seen a renewal of heavy fighting in Belgium. It is hard to say whether the Belgians drew the German attack on themselves by their enterprise, or whether the earlier fights, in which they claim successes, were efforts to check the German investment of Antwerp. The only facts known to us are that the Belgians claim successes during the week-end round Termonde, and that the Germans again bombarded Malines. On Tuesday their heavy guns, for the first time, assailed the outer fortifications of Antwerp, concentrating their fire on two of the southern forts. Though they expended much ammunition upon them, the effect, if we believe the telegrams from Antwerp, was not very serious. On Wednesday, believing that the forts had been reduced, the Germans attempted an infantry attack between the forts. It came upon electrically-charged wires, and, under the guns of the forts, was repulsed with very heavy slaughter. The German official news claims that these two forts were destroyed. The attack on Antwerp is evidently serious, and will presumably be pressed with the usual German determination at any cost in life. But the city has three lines of defences, and the spirit of the garrison is confident.

THERE is no doubt that the Russian march into Galicia is no longer opposed, and will not encounter serious resistance until it comes up against the fortress of Cracow. There, however, the whole Austro-German forces have been re-formed under German command. They are in strong force, and the line stretches just inside the Polish frontier from Cracow through Czenstochowa to Kalisch. The Germans have had time to dig themselves in, and have doubtless prepared a series of defensive positions, which will make the Russian march on Breslau a difficult undertaking. Meanwhile, the civil administration of Galicia is being organized under Count Bobrinsky, the Pan Slavist leader, who was the head of the Russian organization which honeycombed Galicia with its propaganda before the war. A detached Russian force has broken through the Passes of the Carpathians, and is invading Hungary, where it will encounter the national Hungarian army (Honved), a force of uncertain military value, but possibly of better moral than the armies beaten in Galicia.

IN the northern part of the eastern theatre, the

German army, which successfully cleared East Prussia, is advancing into Poland. The Russians hold the line of the Niemen, a good defensive position, since the eastern bank is usually high and the western bank often low and marshy. Two German efforts to cross are said to have been foiled, with heavy loss in men and material. The Russians claim to have driven in both flanks of the German line, which stretches for about 100 miles. No German version of these operations is yet available. There is some doubt as to the object which this German invasion proposes to itself. The forces engaged are not large enough to suggest an important offensive. Nor does the point of entry chosen suggest an attempt to get round to the rear of the Warsaw communications. The intention is probably to distract some part of the Russian armies, and, above all, to defend East Prussia.

THE landing of the first detachment of the Indian Army at Marseilles—apparently a complete unit of cavalry, infantry, and artillery—has now been recorded, and by this time, we imagine, they are at the front. They include, says the "Times," Sikhs, Punjabis, Baluchis, Gurkhas, in magnificent trim, and were received, say the reports, with a passionate enthusiasm which both the greatness of the event and its extreme picturesqueness amply explain. Meanwhile, a foolishly vindictive order from the Kaiser to his army, ordering it to concentrate all its "valor," "energies," and "skill" on the "extermination of the miserable little British Army" may very well prove to have been responsible for the defeat of the German plan of campaign. The German infantry, says Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, was led against our infantry, schooled in the South African War, in the closest possible formation, only to be shot down like rabbits. The result was to establish the complete moral supremacy of our troops, and a corresponding depression of the Germans. Our men now despise the Germans, convinced of their inferiority in everything but artillery fire, and of their complete incompetence as marksmen.

THE Germans continue their policy of discharging bombs from aeroplanes on towns and their civil populations. They have done this not only at Antwerp, which is a besieged town, but at Paris, which is not, and where the airman slew an old man and a little girl. What is the defence of this conduct? It is in the nature of a bombardment without notice, which is forbidden by The Hague Convention, and is, indeed, a peculiarly terrifying and unnerving form of that attack. Unfortunately, Europe has never had the will or the time to apply the rules of warfare to this new horror of the air. The cruel heart of man, therefore, has wreaked its unchecked will.

AGAIN Turkey is thought to be threatening war on the Triple Entente, and again we have assurances from her statesmen and ours that she will keep quiet. The trouble is that, under German suggestion, she has or may become so difficult, that war with her may practically be unavoidable. If it comes, she may worry us a little in Egypt and Russia, hardly at all in Armenia, but will bring on her luckless head the always smouldering fires of the Yemen, an almost certain intervention by Italy, and a probable descent by Greece, Roumania, and Bulgaria (if the first and the last of these Powers can come to terms on Kavalla). That means, of course, the definite end of Turkey, Constantinople and all, to the great profit of mankind. It seems rather a heavy stake for her to throw.

Two shocking records have been added to the story of German barbarities. M. Arthur Terwagne—the brother of the Deputy for Antwerp—has written a letter declaring that during the sack of Dinant the Germans forced open the doors of houses and murdered everyone they found within, that forty men hidden in the cellar of a brewery were all shot, and that over two hundred men and lads were driven on to the Place d'Armes and murdered by a machine gun. The Press Bureau also publishes some letters from German soldiers compiled from a volume entitled "Kriegs-Chronik." One of these letters tells the story of a little French boy who, for the offence of refusing to tell a German column where the French were, was set against a telegraph pole,

"and stood up against it, with the green vineyard at his back, and received the volley of the firing party with a proud smile on his face. Infatuated wretch! It was a pity to see such wasted courage."

The story reads like truth, but even if it were invented it supplies a sad clue to the mentality of many of the invaders. Happily, we can set in contrast some fine tributes from our soldiers to the individual charity of German soldiers—especially soldiers—and officers.

MR. ARNOLD BENNETT makes in the "Daily News" a valuable attempt to articulate the peculiarly British terms of settlement. He insists that they ought to be disinterested, and that this character should not be overlaid by a policy of snapping up the German colonies. Here, we think, Liberal opinion is with him, but we must expect some stout counter-pleas from Australia and New Zealand, with their eyes on Samoa and other desirable assets, as well as from South Africa, where apparently the German action in the south-west was aggressive. German New Guinea and Duala, capital of the German Cameroons, have also fallen, with Tsing-Tau, which was captured by a joint British and Japanese force, and which Japan promises to China. For the rest Mr. Bennett insists that a specially British Treaty must contain three articles—full reparation for Belgium, the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, and an effective scheme of European disarmament, in which all the nations join on terms of parity. Do not these conditions, effectively embodied, give us all that we want as a contribution both to the world's peace and our own?

THE report of the Royal Commission on the firing by the Scottish Borderers in connection with the landing of arms at Howth by the National Volunteers is a very reasonable document. It considers that the troops were invoked without proper authority, and there ought to have been a written requisition. Generally, the Commissioners consider that there was no case for military intervention, and that the calling of the soldiers to quell the gathering in Dublin was "unjustifiable." The Commissioners also find some laxity in the handling of the men, for when Major Haig joined the force he was not told that the rifles were loaded. On the whole, a sad tale of indiscretion and loose handling.

THE problem of trade with neutral countries has already been the cause of embarrassment and perplexity to British traders and to the Government. By the Declaration of London, which we agreed to observe at the beginning of the war, a large Free List of raw materials and articles of peaceful commerce was provided for. As we proceeded, the importance of checking the German supplies of war material, shipped to neutral ports, but really destined for Krupps, has developed, and all sorts of restrictions and modifications have been made, which

are already causing trouble with Holland and the United States. Copper and a number of other articles on the Free List have been proclaimed conditional contraband, so that American cargoes to Holland and Scandinavia can be stopped. Iron ore has also been included, greatly to the discomfiture of Sweden. At the beginning of the war the export of coal was prohibited, but the losses and discontent which ensued were so serious that the embargo was removed. In fact, it was discovered that Germany, so far from needing coal, was actually exporting it, and so getting the benefit of high prices in neutral countries.

* * *

BUT the most remarkable case is that of sugar. At the beginning of the war sugar rose higher than any other commodity, and great difficulties were caused to a host of British manufacturers which depend on this for their raw material. We had a remarkably fine fruit crop, and a great deal of it cannot be preserved because the sugar supplies are so scarce and the prices are so high. Germany and Austria usually send us the bulk of our raw sugar supplies. The German Government was aware of this, and on the outbreak of war prohibited its export to neutral countries in order to injure Great Britain. This, however, meant ruin to the German beet sugar interests, including a vast number of agricultural landlords and peasant farmers, so the embargo was removed, and German sugar began to flow into Switzerland, Holland, and Scandinavia, thus enabling confectionery and cocoa manufacturers in those countries to cut out the British manufacturers. But the high prices in England naturally attracted the German sugar to this country. The Government then took the line that this was putting money into the pockets of the enemy, and the import of sugar from Holland has lately been prohibited. At the same time able and energetic measures were taken to restore the arrested flow. A Royal Commission was appointed, and after pledging the great refiners to buy only of itself, "cornered" the sugar from the world's available stocks. The result is that the public will now for a twelvemonth be able to buy sugar in retail at a minimum of 3½d. a lb. for good granulated sugar, and 4½d. for good cubes. A really dashing experiment in State Socialism.

* * *

MR. ASQUITH's call for Nationalist Volunteers for the Army was made in Dublin on Friday week to a very great meeting in the Mansion House, which, in spite of the extremists' opposition to volunteering, was not interrupted. The Prime Minister's speech was, in the main, a trenchant dealing with Germany's two fatal errors—her ignoring of Belgium and her belief that Britain would never enter on any war without a hope of profit. It contained some valuable sentences as to the necessity of embodying the "idea of public right" in the terms of peace. That idea he declared to involve a "definite repudiation of militarism" as the governing factor in European State life; the independence and free development of small nationalities; and the substitution for the great European groups of a "real partnership, based on the recognition of equal right and established and enforced by a common will." He concluded by an appeal for an Irish army corps, which Mr. Redmond fully endorsed.

* * *

THE Ulster spirit broke out again on Ulster day when Sir Edward Carson, addressing the Ulster Unionist Council, declared that he would summon the Provisional Government as soon as the war was over in order to repeal the Home Rule Act and prevent it having any

effect on Ulster. Mr. Bonar Law cut away the qualification of his Blenheim pledge which entitled him to withdraw from Ulster's support if the British electorate went against her. But after the advantage which had been taken of Ulster patriotism, he had the full authority of his party to renew the pledge without the condition. He and Sir Edward Carson concluded their speeches with an unconditional support of the war and an appeal to the Ulster Volunteers to enlist.

* * *

MEANWHILE Mr. Whitehouse, M.P., acting largely on behalf of our Government, has visited Belgium, and published his experiences in a sober but yet vivid article, which gives the dreadful impression of the almost total paralysis of the life of a whole people, stricken in its full tide of health and well-being. Here is his description of the destruction of Termonde:—

"Termonde a few weeks ago was a beautiful city of about 16,000 inhabitants; a city in which the dignity of its buildings harmonized with the natural beauty of its situation; a city which contained some buildings of surpassing interest. I found it entirely destroyed. I went through street after street, square after square, and I found that every house was entirely destroyed, with all its contents. It was not the result of a bombardment; it was systematic destruction. In each house a separate bomb had been placed, which had blown up the interior and had set fire to the contents. All that remained in every case were portions of the outer walls, still constantly falling, and inside the cinders of the contents. Not a shred of furniture or of anything else remained. This sight continued in street after street, throughout the entire extent of what had been a considerable town."

* * *

HERE is Mr. Whitehouse's picture of the state of this stricken population:—

"The result is that conditions have been set up for the civilian population throughout the occupied territory of unexampled misery. Comparatively only a few refugees have reached this country. The others remain wandering about Belgium, flocking into other towns and villages, or flying to points a little way across the Dutch frontier. Sometimes when a town has been bombarded the Germans have withdrawn, and the civilians have returned to their homes, only to flee again at a renewed attack from the enemy. . . . The whole life of the nation has been arrested; the food supplies, which would ordinarily reach the civilian population, are being taken by the German troops for their own support; the peasants and poor are without the necessities of life, and the conditions of starvation grow more acute every day. Even where, as in some cases happens, there is a supply of wheat available, the peasants are not allowed to use their windmills, owing to the German fear than they will send signals to the Belgian army. We are, therefore, face to face with a fact which has rarely, if ever, occurred in the history of the world; an entire nation in a state of famine, and that within half a day's journey of our own shores."

* * *

TWO weeks ago M. Vladimir Bourtoff wrote to the "Times" to advocate the united support of all Russian parties for this war, and predicted that it would deal the death-blow to reaction. He so far trusted his diagnosis that, in spite of his own compromised revolutionary past, he returned to Russia to offer his services to the Tsar. This week comes the news that on his arrival he was promptly arrested. The "Times" correspondent predicts that he will be admitted to bail, and urges us to take his misfortune "with philosophy." For our part, we would rather take it with a general amnesty. It is a disconcerting fact that the explorer who set out to find the New Russia has struck upon the old bureaucracy.

Politics and Affairs.

PUBLICITY AND THE WAR.

We are bound to remark that in the great matter of facilities for authorized correspondents to view and describe the deeds of our troops in France, the Government (for the War Office is merely an organ of the Government) have done both the country and the Army an ill turn. We say "done," but we do not perfectly realize whether the War Office has decided or undecided anything. It has merely come down with an order that no British correspondents are at present to be allowed with the Expeditionary Force. Under what circumstances? We need not recapitulate the elaborate precautions that have been taken to prevent the disclosure of military secrets. The correspondents chosen were all highly skilled and responsible men, and they were to be under military law and the direct command of a press officer, who in his turn would be responsible to the chief field censor on the General Staff. There are other regulations covering every possible road to abuse. It is clear that these conditions were deemed adequate. After weeks of waiting, the correspondents were allowed to make all their purchases and arrangements. They were then told that the final decision rested with the French General Staff. But last week this obstacle was removed. The Press Officer was summoned to Head Quarters in France, and informed that no further objection existed on the part of the French or the British Generals, but that motors had better be substituted for horses. It was in face of this decision that the War Office imposed their final veto.

Now, the public must not be deceived as to the effect of this edict. There are plenty of British correspondents in or about the French territory which is the seat of the war. But they are obliged to be unauthorized pickers-up of trifles from the wounded or stragglers, or from the offices and gossips of Paris. They are not enabled to tell Britain, with the accuracy, insight, and weight of the selected and properly posted correspondents, the story of its soldiers' deeds on the field of battle. We consider this refusal to an organized and responsible press of the power to narrate, so far as is wise and prudent, the history of our share in the greatest war of this or any other age, to be a double and grave injury to the nation. In the first place, it is a crushing blow to the right of free speech and communication—a right only asked for in a restricted measure. In the second place, it is a cruel disappointment for the army. Nothing except defeat takes the heart out of the soldiers so surely as to find no adequate or truthful tribute to what they do and suffer in the papers which the people read at home. Public opinion, we know, does not desire to see the war conducted in this unimaginative spirit. But the army has stronger reason for dissatisfaction, and it is on its account that we plead for the reasonable publicity which the War Office withholds, but for which a Liberal Cabinet are fully responsible. This Armageddon is not being fought to find copy for newspapers. But it must not be fought in the dark. Mighty issues of politics and human

life, including the future and character of our institutions, are at stake, and we ought to be told by men we can trust on what general lines the conflict moves and how our sons endure its strain.

"A COOLING-OFF PERIOD."

AMID the loud whirr of the death-dealing dragons that now occupy the firmament, the timid flitting of three small white doves over the Atlantic has hardly drawn a ripple of attention. Yet it is surely not without significance that during this terrible week, the United States, the one Great Power at peace, should have set her seal to three treaties of arbitration with Great Britain, France, and Spain. These are not, indeed, the fruits of a merely or a mainly sentimental pacifism. The Senate at Washington is not a body to be swayed by motives of amiable altruism. It is a highly practical and self-regarding assembly, concerned primarily and predominantly, not for the good of the world, but for that of America. But it has the courage not to be daunted by a conflict which in some quarters is considered a complete exposure of the follies of Hague Conferences and of all humane and reasonable modes of determining the quarrels of nations. Regarded in themselves, these treaties are far from attaining the full objects which ardent advocates of arbitration like President Taft have striven to achieve. He, indeed, was willing to include in the subjects of compulsory reference to arbitration "every issue which cannot be settled by negotiation, no matter what it involves," inclusive of territory, honor, or "vital interests." There were, however, two difficulties, which have at present proved insuperable, to so broad an abandonment of the right of war. There was, first, the fear lest the sudden passionate emergence of some test issue, such as an alleged infraction of the Monroe Doctrine, might strain so tight a treaty to the breaking point. Secondly, there was the deep, habitual aversion of most Senators to take a step which seemed to abrogate the treaty-making powers of the Senate.

But more important than the substance of these treaties is the accompanying policy of conciliation, advocated with so much vigor and enthusiasm by Mr. Bryan. The object of this proposal is to insert what the American statesman aptly terms "a cooling-off period" between the stage of diplomatic negotiation and that of arbitration. This proposal, in the form it takes, as well as in its motive, bears a close resemblance to the Industrial Disputes Arbitration Act by which Canada has striven to avert the disaster of strikes and lock-outs in the labor world, an Act which in its main features has recently been strongly recommended for adoption in this country. Concretely, it amounts to this: that a Joint International Commission should be set up, empowered to investigate the subject of dispute between two Governments, and to issue a report of its findings within a year, no step being taken in the meantime either towards a forcible or an arbitral settlement. This Commission of Inquiry is to consist of five members, one appointed by each signatory government from its own nation, one nominated by each from a neutral nation, and a fifth, a member of a neutral nation agreed upon by both parties.

Two objects of great importance might be attained by such a procedure if the various Governments accepted it beforehand as a phase in their policy of settlement. In the first place, the healing influence of time would be brought into operation, so that a word could not straightway be followed by a blow. Think, for example, what an agony might have been averted if the question of the guilt of Serbia for the Sarajevo episode, or the violent retort of Austria, could have been subjected to even a month's impartial inquiry before either Government could act. But besides this check upon hasty and passionate action, there would be the influence of public opinion, an informed and organized European mind, having before it the sifted evidence and judgment of an impartial court, endowed, indeed, with no forcible sanction to execute its verdict, but making its appeal to the good sense and equity of the civilized world. Shall we, even now that the arbitrament of force seems for a season to have triumphed over that of public right, deny the value of the moral authority which such a Commission would be able to exercise? It is likely, indeed, that when a new Europe arises, maimed and stunned from the havoc of this struggle, its peoples will order their Governments to bind themselves against another outbreak of internecine wrath by tighter sanctions than these American proposals carry. They will call not only for intervening bodies of benevolent assessors, but for a form of international government, armed with powers and police to resist international war. Moral powers they must in essence be. But a mode of common action against an offender who will not come into the general line of agreement—and has no system of alliances to fall back on—must be thought out. Thus far even the habitual caution of Mr. Asquith's mind has led him. None the less the American suggestion represents a valuable experimental advance towards the practical establishment of justice between nations, taken by a people which may well be expected to exercise a powerful voice in the determination of the future destiny of the civilized world when the present fury is over past.

THE FATE OF AUSTRIA.

THE campaigns of the Russians and Servians against Austria have an interest that goes beyond their military effects. The impression grows that these armies, which came into the field weighted with a secular tradition of defeat, are destined only to fresh reverses and further retirements. We do not forget that the core of the Dual Monarchy is still intact. It is only the outer Slav fringe in the north and the south that is threatened, and not yet will the invaders be able to strike at any German or Magyar province. But, rightly or wrongly, no one anticipates that either Germans or Magyars will throw up a Gambetta, or defend the Fatherland with the desperate energy of a patriotic resistance. There we may be wrong; the Tyrolese and the Magyars have both done that same thing in the past. It is still more significant that nearly everyone assumes that military defeat can, in the literal sense of the word, destroy the Austrian Empire. There are limits to what arms may achieve, even when they are backed by science and numbers. The

essential fabric of every one of the other Great Powers is indestructible, and no one in his sober senses really supposes that either France or Germany could be ended by any military event, however decisive. Their culture would mock even the depression of defeat, and no conqueror who retained his sanity would even for a fleeting moment dream of annexing them or destroying their national independence. But of Austria-Hungary we never think in this way. It is not a nation, but a problem; its survival has often seemed to be a miracle, and its future is an enigma. We are very far from assuming that its history is ended, but we are so far in agreement with the current view that we think its survival neither certain nor inevitable, and we believe that if it does survive, it will owe its preservation more to geographical necessity than to any unconquerable vitality in itself.

There is a fashion in the opinions that play round the future of Austria. Twenty years ago "the break-up of Austria" was the wearisome commonplace of the traveller and the journalist. The better opinion of yesterday had swung to the opposite extreme. Authorities like Dr. Seton-Watson and Mr. Steed had told us that a true Austrian sentiment, by no means confined to the ruling races or even to the ruling class, had asserted itself. It was largely a Hapsburg sentiment. It looked to the future, and was prepared for a relatively liberal policy of reconstruction. The shock of revolution, which struck Russia in 1905, found Austria adaptable, and an orderly demonstration in Vienna sufficed to win manhood suffrage, based on an ingenious yet honest system of voting in separate racial constituencies, which has greatly diminished the strife of the nationalities. The Czechs, with their hopes fixed on the pro-Slav Archduke and his Czech consort, were on the way towards becoming an element as weighty and reliable from the Austrian standpoint as the Poles. For crude oppression and unqualified discontent one had to turn to Hungary, but the Magyars realized that the end of Francis Joseph's reign would mean also the end of their racial ascendancy over the Slavs and Roumanians, whom they could still cheat but could neither crush nor assimilate. All these hopes turned on the personality of the murdered Archduke, and with his death it is possible that they might have vanished, even if there had been no war. In any event, one may doubt whether the Serbs would ever have sat down to a future of loyalty and peace. The victories of Serbia in the two Balkan wars had caused them to look to Belgrade as the Lombards looked to Turin, and they had their Louis Napoleon always ready in the person of the Russian Tsar. The belief in a Hapsburg sentiment and an Austrian mission was, we think, well grounded, but it was ruined by the murders of Serajevo. The Archduke was killed, not because he was the enemy of the Serbs, but rather because he would have made of Austria a rival Slav State to Russia. Sooner or later this Austro-Slavonic idea would have had to fight for its life. It is fighting to-day before it has lived.

To speculate in general terms on the fate of Austria would be excessively easy—if we knew its fate. One might write in advance a sage essay on reasonable if

rather conservative lines, upon the well-worn theme that Austria is necessary to Europe. One might as plausibly apply the Mazzinian definition of nationality, and stamp Austria out in its name. A Europe which meant to live by reliance on the old theory of Balance of Power would certainly need Austria. On the other hand, a good Liberal may hesitate to-day to apply the doctrines of 1848 with uncompromising logic. Nationality is not in the East so certainly bound up with the notion of a separate and independent territory as it was in the mind of the Italian prophet. It has to reckon with the existence of races which live side by side, inextricably mixed, like the Czechs and Germans in Bohemia. It must remember that others inhabit isolated areas—like the compact Magyar colony among the Roumanians of Transylvania. There are others like the Slovaks, too weak to stand alone, and with no continuous history to inspire them. The stress of thinking in Eastern Europe has always tended to dwell on the immaterial aspects of nationality—the language, the Church, the tendencies and traditions which form a national “culture.” But the Magyars in Hungary have never fully conceded even these elements of nationality. If the Austrian record is incomparably better, and by contrast either with the Prussian or the Russian tradition, almost illustrious in its Liberalism, it is still too imperfect to excite enthusiasm. The Czechs have had to fight hard for their language rights, and the Italians have had to struggle against a niggardly bureaucracy. Disruption becomes a likely solution in any mixed Empire from the moment that any one of its races secures outside it a national focus and a base for insurrections. That is the moral of the Balkan war. Turkish rule over Greeks and Bulgarians could not survive the creation of a free Greece and a free Bulgaria. The fatal event for Austria was the emergence of Serbia by its victories as a State with a mission and a future. If Russia had before this war created a contented Russian Poland, and recognized the autonomy of the “Little Russians” (otherwise known as Ukrainians or Ruthenians), the future of Galicia would hardly be worth discussion.

It is much too soon, in our opinion, to draw maps. The survival of Austria-Hungary is still a possibility. If the fortunes of war continue to go as we in the Allied camp desire, it is fairly certain that most if not all of the Austrian Serbs and Croats will be united to Serbia. “Great Serbia” will be, one hopes, a federal state, for its more cultivated Catholic population might not be exactly happy under the direct rule of orthodox Belgrade. It is not quite certain that the Poles and Ruthenians, if they were able to settle their future by a *plébiscite*, would elect to go under Russia—everything would depend upon the terms which Russia offered. Such moderate changes as these would still leave much of Austria standing, even if Roumania and Italy were also compensated for their neutrality at her expense. She would have gained a more defensible frontier on the north, and in losing Bosnia she would be rid of a continual source of weakness and unrest. Difficulties begin at once if a more drastic solution is attempted. To rob these land-locked States of both their ports at Trieste and Fiume would be to inflict on them the same injustice from

which Serbia suffered. Trieste, moreover, may be an Italian town, but the country round it is Slav. It is possible to say that the German provinces might be annexed to the German Empire. That would certainly be an ironical way of crushing Prussia, by swamping it with Southern Catholics who have never been drilled out of their natural easiness of life. But this programme forgets two problems—the future of the Czechs and the Magyars. Neither of them is strong enough to stand alone, and both of them are too strong to be crushed or assimilated by an alien Empire. Even if political independence were easy for them, it is hard to see how Bohemia and Hungary, with no outlet on the sea, could live as independent economic units amid the great protectionist Empires. The Magyars might conceivably become the leaders of a wider Balkan Confederation—about the last thing which any Russian statesman would desire. But it is hard to guess at any tolerable future for Bohemia. When the European Congress which ends this war is confronted by such a problem as this, it is a fairly safe prediction that it will take note of it, and pass on. Only a Napoleon would dare to solve it, and his solution might last—for a decade.

RELIEF OR MAINTENANCE?

II.

IN our previous article we advocated, as will be remembered, a method of dealing with unemployment in the present crisis, which would be far more satisfactory than that of the local Relief Committees. That method was the extension of the principle of paying out-of-work benefit to all wage-earners, as it is now paid to the particular trades scheduled in the Insurance Act. Such a policy, we are well aware, is likely to meet with certain objections. One attack may come from the Trade Union side. Our method involves universal registration at the Labor Exchanges, and these are in bad odour with many Trade Unionists. But, however right the Trade Union attitude on this question may be in normal times, it is foolish to object to the use of the Exchanges during the war. Most of the allegations centre round the conduct of the Exchanges in case of trade disputes; but during the war, Capital and Labor have called a temporary truce. The proposed extension of Part II. being merely for the war, there should be no real difficulty on this head. Furthermore, the alternative to registration at the Exchanges is registration with the local Committees, which is far worse. Many of these Committees have already decided in their wisdom that such relief as they grant shall be given, not in money, but in the form of “food-coupons” to be exchanged at certain shops for meat or groceries or what not. No more deplorable illustration could be found of the contempt in which the bourgeoisie holds the working classes than this calm assumption that they are not fit to be trusted with the handling of half-a-crown, and we hope that self-respecting Trade Unionists, at any rate, will show a proper resentment. Even the Poor Law allows the recipients of out-door relief to exercise freedom in the spending of their doles.

Secondly, it may be said that the method provided in

the Act for extending Part II. is slow and cumbrous, whereas rapid action is essential in the present instance. The answer is that there is no need to adopt the prescribed method; it would be easy to pass a short Act, embodying all the necessary provisions, and, with the greater part of the administrative machinery already in existence, there need be no delay in enforcing them. At any rate, centralized action of such a kind is likely to be far more rapid and effective than the unco-ordinated efforts of a number of local Committees. Moreover, it is rumored that the officials favor a large extension of Part II., and see no administrative difficulties in the proposal.

Thirdly, objection may be made on the ground that this plan means "scrapping" the Relief Committees, and that the Government is already committed to entrusting them with the whole, or nearly the whole, work of relief. We have given our reasons against the concentration of all these functions in such hands; but we have no desire to take away from them their other duties of the greatest importance. If all our suggestions were put in practice, and if others supplementing them were conceived and executed, there would remain not a little distress that could be dealt with only through the local Committees. Such residuary relief is, we believe, their first function. This they are in the best position to administer; regular out-of-work pay they are, alike by temperament and composition, utterly unsuited to handle. Relief may be their business, maintenance is assuredly that of the State and the Trade Unions.

But, in addition, the local Committees will have many other functions. Until the new machinery gets into full working order, they will have temporarily to relieve those who are workless and in distress. Even when this emergency has passed, they will still have to see that the Education Authorities are duly providing for all children of school age—and even, where necessary, to supplement this provision by giving clothing, &c.—and, further, they will be charged with the important task of protecting the welfare of the infants. In this communal provision, despite the advance that has been made in recent years, there is still much to be done. The Board of Education and the Local Government Board have not only made it very clear what are the powers of the local Education and Health Authorities in this field, in which they now, happily, supersede private charity and the Poor Law; but they are actually exhorting them to greater activity—to the preparation of meals on Sundays and holidays, for instance, or the establishment of Maternity Centres, Baby Clinics, or municipal Milk Depôts. The local Councils, however, are, as usual, sluggish, and it will fall largely to the Relief Committees to spur them on. All this will not only involve work for the Committees, but will also do much to obviate the difficulty that the seven shillings afforded to every unemployed worker is in no sense a maintenance rate. Moreover, it will be their business, by every means in their power, to assist in keeping up the volume of employment. It will be their duty to suggest schemes of work to local authorities, and to apply pressure if nothing is done; to co-ordinate all charitable relief within their several districts; to start workrooms, as far as possible on a commercial basis; and

to open voluntary training centres, in which such unemployed men and women as choose can receive, not wages—for they will be in receipt of out-of-work pay through their union or the Labor Exchange—but free instruction in carpentry, cooking, dressmaking, and the like. These tasks alone will give the Committees far more work than they will easily manage; but it will be in these cases work for which they are naturally more adapted.

These suggestions, taken along with those in our previous article, make up, we believe, a practical policy for dealing with the present situation. If it is argued that they will cost money, it may be answered that the cost will depend upon the amount of distress. If, as the Government and the greater part of the press assure us, there is little unemployment and less distress, the cost will be small; if, on the other hand, distress is or becomes acute, the cost will be heavy, by whatever method it is met. The plan here advocated differs from others only in that it places its cards upon the table; it is possible to foresee roughly what, given this or that specified number of unemployed, it is likely to cost. The plan of using the Relief Committees in all cases indiscriminately, if it is to be effective, will cost more and not less; it looks on the surface less alarming only because no forecast can be given of its cost. We can see at least that such a policy would mean the exhaustion of the Prince of Wales's Fund in a few weeks.

The crucial question, however, is this: Are we bent on adopting the methods of private charity and on giving doles, accompanied by semi-public and rather less than semi-skilled inspection, to relieve distress when and where it has become acute? Or are we prepared to guarantee maintenance—even on the inadequate scale which alone seems for the moment practicable—in default of work to every member of the working population? It will prove to be false economy, as well as bad morality, to muddle through the present crisis in the unimaginative spirit of the charitable person.

THE THREE WEEKS' BATTLE.

WHAT is a battle? It would be interesting to watch an attempt by the shade of Clausewitz, with his elaborate Kantian habit of precision, to recast the old definitions in the light of the Manchurian and French campaigns. The three weeks' battle on the Aisne is a battle partly because both sides are under a single command, but primarily because whatever happens in any part of the vast line will instantly affect the whole position. The history of the battle is known to us as yet only in outline. We in this country are watching and have from the first instinctively watched the movements of our own forces in the west. That was always for us the hopeful quarter, and the hope to-day is near the moment of fruition. The censored news is extraordinarily reticent, and the probability is that it is all of it belated, and that the German news is appreciably more belated than the French. When the German news speaks of fighting near Albert and the French of battles in the Roye region, the chances are that both are describing the

events of several days ago, and that the real struggle is now at a much more critical point, and involves a far sharper menace to von Kluck's communications than anything in the telegrams suggests.

The history of this battle turns on several well-marked efforts. The Allies must have realized early in the fighting that little could be hoped from frontal attacks. Their plan has been to push the turning movement in the west. The Germans, on the other hand, have developed two ideas. Their first effort repeated their tactics in the Battle of the Marne. They attempted to drive in the French centre at Reims, exactly as they had done in front of Vitry. This movement prospered for two or three days, and the Germans won ground, only, however, to lose it again. This idea was apparently abandoned in favor of an enveloping movement from the east. This march from Metz upon the Verdun-Toul forts we discussed last week. Like the attack on the centre it prospered up to a point. The advanced point of this German turning force broke the French lines and occupied Saint Mihiel, got astride the Meuse, and threatened, if it did not silence, the forts of Paroches and Roman Camp. It would have been, if it had prospered, a move at least as serious to the French as our turning movement in the west is likely to be to the Germans. But it no longer thrives, and need occasion no further anxiety. The Germans have never come near winning for themselves a free advance by this route, for the French forces based on Toul were always able to harass the German flank. It would probably have achieved its object many days ago had not German reinforcements been hurried round from east to west by the long *détour* of the Belgian railway system. They arrived in time to save the German Right for the moment. The German western line still runs north from the Aisne, more or less at a right angle to it. It should be the object of the outflanking attack to work westward towards Cambrai, and to cut what must be von Kluck's main artery of communication somewhere about Le Cateau, on the trunk line of the Namur-Mauberge-St. Quentin railway. An achievement of this kind, if it could be carried out with adequate forces, might be fatal to the extreme German right, which would have hard work to retreat north-westwards, across the Allied front. But as yet, in spite of the hopefulness of the unofficial telegrams from Paris, we have no right to count upon a great result from this battle. The Allies probably have the force to compel an abandonment of the Aisne positions, but that would not be what strategy calls a "decision." The same long-drawn battle may be repeated in successive defensive positions. But in that case the resistance is certain to grow weaker, and the spirit of the invaders to flag, as France first and then Belgium is abandoned in the slow retreat. Sacrifices, as a captured German letter remarked, are hard to endure when they are seen to be fruitless.

Of the campaign, or rather the three separate campaigns, in the east it is hard to write with any assurance. One cannot be sure that the Serbs do more than occupy large bodies of the Austrian Army, while themselves avoiding prolonged or costly invasion. But

there is not a doubt of the Russian success in Galicia. More enigmatic is the German invasion of North Poland. It distracts some part of the Russian forces, and defends East Prussia, but that seems to be the limit of its possibilities. One hopes that, in their Austrian campaign, the Russians will not be tempted by the weakness of the enemy to disperse their own forces unduly. A march southward on Budapest may be quite feasible, but it would, one imagines, be wiser to postpone it until some decisive result had been achieved against the Germans. For that, concentration is required. There must be immense masses of fresh troops somewhere in Poland which have not yet come into action. The real advance will presumably begin when the southern flank is cleared as far as Cracow. It will probably be a slow advance, for the Russians have bad roads and inadequate railways behind them, and the Germans, apart from their regular fortresses, have had time to choose and prepare defensive positions which they may hold as stubbornly as they have held the Aisne. But there is, or will be, this difference between the eastern and western campaigns. The Russians, whatever difficulties of their own they may have to face, ought not to be handicapped, as the Allies have been in the west, by inadequate numbers.

A London Diary.

WE must not, I think, expect too great a rush of Irish Volunteers to the colors until Mr. Redmond has had time to settle the question of the control of the organization and its funds. This he has had no chance to do while the centre of the Irish battle for Home Rule lay at Westminster. Now that he and Mr. Devlin are in the field, the overwhelming strength of the Irish Nationalist Party will no doubt bear down its rivals. But what student of Irish politics ever expected to exorcize its secular anti-Englandism at one wave of the Home Rule wand? Behind the organized parties in Ireland lies a loose body of opinion, without representation, without a daily paper, but with some power of giving trouble to the orthodox leaders. This body is composed of a collection of *Sein Feiners*—whose motto is "ourselves alone"—Larkinites, pro-Germans, National Volunteers, and disgruntled politicians of various shades of opinion. They return no member to Parliament; they have no daily organ of the press; they have no settled constructive political policy. Among them Mr. Larkin sets a note of much violence and antipathy to Mr. Redmond, and there is a good deal of froth in all that his organ, "The Irish Worker," writes. And there may be some intimidation practised on Volunteers who are anxious to enlist. But the total force of the movement is not, I think, great, and it will diminish as the Nationalist leaders get their accustomed firm hold of the situation.

ONE hopes that, as time goes on, the strain of the situation in Holland will be relieved. The trouble lies, of course, in Rotterdam. Holland is inclined to complain that our ships are stopping her food supplies. This is not the case. Holland has all and more than all

the food she wants. But she is quite naturally concerned that her trade with Germany suffers because of the stoppage of imports which do not rest in her ports, but pass, at high prices, into German hands, to serve, in one form or another, as war material. Her position could, of course, only be worsened by any step which turned her from a neutral into a belligerent. That, one profoundly hopes and entirely believes, will be avoided, in the common interest of civilization and for the sake of both countries and their old and close connections of history and trade. Holland has really behaved admirably; her trial is great; and she upholds her critical position not only with signal courage but with far more feeling for Belgium's martyrdom than people in this country imagine.

CLOSE students of the press in Germany do not quite confirm the cheerful view of the economic situation which officially she is bound to keep up. There is still no doubt a good outward show, but I am assured that the vital strain is very great. How can it be otherwise when from 40 to 60 per cent. of the industrial workers of the country were at once drafted into the army? The lack of workmen, indeed, is so severe that large exceptions had to be made in the calling out of the Landsturm, which has, of course, meant a serious additional withdrawal of labor. Raw materials are terribly short. Supplies of ironstone, coal, timber, jute, and petrol must be failing, while the lack of credit to keep going such industries as could fairly well be carried on is much more severely felt in Germany than here. The Government have made some ingenious financial arrangements, and they are trying to start or to maintain some dribbles of German trade with neutrals through Holland and the Scandinavian countries so as to fill the immense gap left by the loss of trade with the belligerent States. But already from Berlin the returns of unemployment are very bad. In the case of two large unions, the Wool-workers return over 50 per cent. of unemployed, and the Book Printers and Typesetters' Union over 33 per cent.

ONE hears sanguine accounts from Russia of the way in which the new leaven of Liberalism is at work. It is clear that the Liberal parties and leaders, the Zemstvos, and the Local Elective Councils are all getting a larger and much more real share in administrative work than they ever enjoyed before. A good deal of hospital organization has been turned over to them; and their chiefs are openly consulted on internal policy by the Ministry. The quick vital stir of hope and energy has spread from the intellectuals to the peasantry, among whom the prohibition of vodka has done much good. The war is popular, for the rather heavy hand of the German capitalist, overseer, and man of business has been lifted and Russian industry sees a chance for itself. As for Poland, she seems to have been completely won. The movement to freedom has gone so far, and has so greatly eased the whole military problem, that even an ensuing reaction (think the Liberals) would be powerless against it. This certainly is an authoritative and widely held view, and the great hope is that the war in its tremendous swing will bear the impulse farther forward.

SIR CARNE RASCH was a fading memory in that place of quick forgetfulness, the House of Commons, but he was a very pleasant one. For he was one of the few "characters" who survived the disappearance of the period when the House was full of eccentrics, or "types," of one kind of wild man or another. His appearance was a little queer, for he had the tremendously long legs which are usually assigned to the mid-century caricatures of Guardsmen, fitted on to a pair of very square shoulders and a thick, shapeless chest. His address was charming. He liked to fire off explosive little speeches, with small jokes recurring like minute guns, but full, too, of good sense and detached, if quite simple, thinking. He was, in a word, a good private member, who resented the great herding process by the Whips which the last ten years have perfected. He was a Tory in form, with a good leaven of practical Liberalism in him.

A WAYFARER.

WHY WE CAME TO HELP BELGIUM.

AN interesting sample of the weapons which Germany has forged for her campaign of words appears in a curious pamphlet entitled "Truth About Germany: Facts About the War," a copy of which I have before me. It is obviously addressed to American opinion, to which it appeals on the ground (among others) of our treatment of American ships in the War of 1812, and of the costly misdeeds of the "Alabama." "Truth" would not seem to be the salient object of this publication, and, as for its "facts," barely a statement is made with any documentation to support it. The reader, therefore, has either to take the author's or authors' word or to reject it. When, however, he is confronted with such "facts" as that in 1911 the British "stationed 160,000 troops along their coast" ready for transport to Antwerp, and that in the same year "England and France were resolved not to respect the neutrality of Belgium," we may judge whether an author who makes deliberately false statements is likely to present a political case with truth. Let me, therefore, deal briefly with his defence of the German case for the invasion of Belgium, that crucial event which so largely determines the moral significance of the war. Defence, indeed, is hardly a relevant term to use. Germany's violation of her own treaty is undefended. Her official line has been a coarse rehearsal of the tyrant's secular plea of necessity. "The German General Staff," says the pamphleteer, "was obliged to force this passage in order to avoid the necessity of meeting the enemy on the most unfavorable ground." Still more explicit in its bare assertion of might as the only recognizable right, was the German Chancellor's speech in the Reichstag on August 5th:—

"We find ourselves to-day" (he said) "in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law. (Quite true.) Our troops have occupied Luxemburg. Perhaps already they have entered on Belgian territory. (Lively applause.) That is in conflict with the determinations of the rights of nations. The French Government have, it is true, declared in Brussels that they will respect the neutrality of Belgium so long as the opponent respects it. We know, however, that France is ready to fall into Belgium. (Hear, hear.) France can wait. We, however, cannot, and a French attack on our flank on the Lower Rhine could have been fatal. Thus we were compelled to ignore the protests of the Governments of Luxemburg and Belgium.

"The wrong which we are thereby doing we will endeavor to make good as soon as our military aim is achieved. (Applause.) He who, as we, strives for the highest prize can only think how he is to hack his way through. (Stormy approval and repeated applause in the Reichstag and on the tribunes.)"

And in conversation with Sir Edward Goschen the Chancellor declared that we were going to war for "a scrap of paper,"* on which, it is unnecessary to add, Germany's signature rests side by side with our own.

It is true that a faint attempt was made in the last German dispatch recorded in our White Paper to suggest a mythical French attack across Belgium, "planned according to absolutely unimpeachable information." It is easy to expose this falsity. On July 31st, Sir Edward Grey asked the French and German Governments whether they were prepared to respect the neutrality of Belgium so long as no other Power violated it. On the same day he received from the French Government an answer in the affirmative. On August 4th, Germany answered that she must disregard Belgium's neutrality, but that she was willing to promise that she would not annex her territory after the war. The position, therefore, was that France had given her bond to Britain not to invade Belgium four days before Germany's alleged knowledge that she proposed to violate Belgian soil. France, we know, could not have advanced through Belgium if she had wished. All her military plans were defensive, and if she had marched through Belgium her armies would merely have been broken on an impregnable line of German fortresses.

There is only one other possible line of defence of Germany's lawlessness, and that is that Belgium invited France to anticipate a German invasion of her soil. If Belgium chose to take the risk, she, being a Sovereign State, had a perfect right to say who and who should not set foot on her land. But she made no such proposition. According to the pamphlet, Belgium proposed, by an agreement with France, "that French troops might enter Belgium." Precisely the contrary is the case. France, having declared that in no circumstances would she violate Belgian neutrality unless an actual invasion took place, offered, in the event of such an invasion, to send five army corps to repel it; we also, in the same contingency, proffered diplomatic support. Belgium refused both† on the ground that "the relations between Belgium and her neighbors were excellent and there was no reason to suspect their intentions." It was only when the German invasion was upon her that she invoked the help of those guarantors of her freedom who stood by their pledge and their honor.‡

What, then, was the "necessity" which Germany alleged to "hack through" the Chancellor's "scrap of paper"? Merely the long-conceived plans of her General Staff. For years before the war she had prepared a network of strategic railways on to the Belgian frontier, linked up with her main military system. "In the coming war," said General von Bernhardi, "it is imperative for Germany to act on the offensive and strike the first blow." Germany's "offensive" plan was made, it avoided the line of the great French fortresses, and it could not be vitally altered without the risk of total disorganization. Therefore the German Ambassador's inquiry to Sir Edward Grey whether Britain would remain neutral if Germany agreed to respect Belgian neutrality was a mere feint. The breach of the neutrality was designed and prepared for. When the time to execute it arrived, Germany executed it without troubling the world with a moral excuse. How could she? The lines were there, they had been

completed months before the war, and their purpose was obvious. An article in the "Morning Post" of December 30th, 1913, described the German line from Malmédy to Stavelot, stating the notorious fact that it had no conceivable commercial purpose, and adding that its only object could be to supply "the means of invading a totally undefended part of Belgium with equal ease and celerity."

Germany's crime against international law stands self-confessed. What of Britain's part in resisting her? We can only plead, with Luther, that we could "do no other." For the situation of 1870 had risen again, like a ghost, and both in honor and on the ground of national and Liberal tradition we were bound to act. Under the Treaty of 1839, we, in common with four other Powers (including France and Germany), had guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium. On the outbreak of war, Bismarck betrayed to the Gladstone Ministry the existence of a Franco-Prussian agreement to incorporate Belgium in France. The disclosure roused public opinion, and Gladstone—the most pacific Minister in Europe, and then and later the prime interpreter of moral law in international dealing—wrote to John Bright that it would be neither "safe" nor "right" to stand by "with folded arms and see actions done which would amount to a total extinction of public right in Europe." "We could not," he added in a second communication to the same statesman, "look on while the sacrifice of freedom and independence was in course of consummation." That he did not propose merely to look on, is obvious from a note to Cardwell, his Minister of War:—

"What I should like to study is the means of sending 20,000 men to Antwerp, with as much promptitude as at the Trent affair we sent 10,000 to Canada."

The step which Gladstone prepared was at once bold and prudent. He offered a treaty to France and Prussia, stating that if either party violated Belgian neutrality, Britain should by force of arms co-operate in its defence with the other. It is true that he suggested two verbal reservations. He did not think that such a pledge bound us to appear on the whole theatre of war, and he argued, characteristically, that the mere fact of the existence of the guarantee did not bind each party to it, irrespective of time and occasion. But he insisted that our duty presented itself as something higher than a formal guarantee. Two irresistible motives urged him on to a complete execution of the Treaty of 1839. Both are fully applicable to the situation of 1914. The first was the question of international right; and the second he defined as "the common interest against the unmeasured aggrandizement of any Power whatever." He proceeded to apply his doctrine to the critical case of Belgium:—

"What is that country? It is a country containing four millions or five millions of people with much of an historic past, and imbued with a sentiment of nationality and a spirit of independence as warm and as genuine as that which beats in the breasts of the proudest and most powerful nations. Looking at such a country, is there any man who hears me who does not feel that if, in order to satisfy a greedy appetite for aggrandizement, coming whence it may, Belgium were absorbed, the day that witnessed that absorption would hear the knell of public right and law in Europe? . . . We have an interest in the independence of Belgium which is wider than that which we may have in the literal operation of the guarantee. It is found in the answer to the question whether, in the circumstances of the case, this country, endowed as it is with influence and power, could quietly stand by and witness the perpetration of the direct crime that ever stained the pages of history, and thus become participants in the sin."

Happily no such alternative was offered us. It was then the interest of Germany not to outrage public right,

* On the same day (August 4th), Herr von Jagow, the Secretary of State, declared that Germany had been "obliged" to take this step in order to advance into France by the easiest and quickest way, and that this was "a matter of life and death to them." Sir Edward Goschen's retort was that it was also a matter of life and death to England to "keep her solemn engagement."

† See White Paper No. 151.

‡ White Paper 183.

but to vindicate it. Bismarck at once assented to the treaty, and France, after some hesitation, followed a little later. Belgium was not slow to express her feelings. "Next to the unalterable attachment of the Belgian people to their independence," said an address of the Belgian people to Queen Victoria, "the liveliest sentiment which fills their hearts is that of an imperishable gratitude."

It is this illustrious example that Sir Edward Grey was given the choice to follow or to desert. His ground of action was indeed a narrow one. He was bound in July, 1914, to ask what Gladstone asked in August, 1870. When he asked in vain, could he accept Germany's refusal? Only, it seems, if Belgium had released us from our obligation. If she herself had formally waived her right to protection, or called on us for a purely diplomatic protest, we could only have acquiesced. Had she decided to bow to *force majeure*, we should have had no right to plunge her into the horrors of war. But when Belgium implored our help, she had herself fully resolved to do all and to risk all. Her decision was made known to our Government, in the form of a solemn demand of her King and people, calling upon us, as guarantors of her liberty, to carry out our treaty obligations to her. There remained to us therefore, only the alternative of breaking faith, and as a result of our dishonor seeing Belgium fall into hopeless ruin, or of responding to her appeal with the moral and material support which Gladstone tendered her. What tribunal of impartial men or nations will declare that we were wrong?

One word more. "The German troops," says the pamphleteer, "with their iron discipline, will respect the personal liberty and property of the individual in Belgium, just as they did in France in 1870." Let the hideous tale of burning towns, churches, and public buildings, the confiscations, the shooting of civilians, the wholesale fines, and the general looting of private property and invasion of private rights which has left a black track of ruin behind the German invasion of Belgium, supply the answer. On the heads of this small people, whose only fault was that their land lay in the path of the "easiest and quickest way" to Paris, Germany, deliberately throwing aside the letter and the spirit of The Hague Convention, has poured the vials of such a fury as no modern war has ever known. Let the world judge whether so wanton a crime was ever wreaked on the head of innocence.

H. W. MASSINGHAM.

Life and Letters.

"THE TOMMY."

"WHAT strikes the Continental troops," writes Mr. Geoffrey Young, whose journeys up and down the rear and flanks of the armies have given him the opportunity of learning, "what strikes the Continental troops most is our soldiers' gaiety." It is strange. There was a time, not more than twenty generations ago, when our armies were also familiar on the soil of France. But how different was their reputation then! What then struck the Continental troops most was our soldiers' gloom. Then was invented the Frenchman's epigram which has stuck to us like a poisoned burr, infecting our very nature. "The English take their pleasures sadly"—one is ashamed to quote the well-worn phrase. But until lately, how true it has been—true of the middle-classes,

who boasted themselves "the backbone of the British race," the typical representatives of the national spirit! To take their pleasures, except sadly, seemed to them an offence against respectability, perhaps against God. How could mortal man find room for gaiety in this vale of tears, or decent society outrage decorum with the noise of laughter?

The middle classes have now shared the fate of the mighty. To borrow a phrase they would recognize, they have been put down from their seat. No orator would now flatter them as the backbone of their country. If anything, they are unduly derided, and themselves regard too lightly the sterling qualities of their former decency and Puritanism. The classes which they used to call the lower have surpassed them in estimation. Knowledge, the Suffrage, and a gradual improvement in conditions, have made the workpeople conscious of themselves and their powers. In them our politicians are now forced to recognize the real substance and body of the nation, no matter for the backbone, and in them we must all recognize the real characteristics of the national spirit. Take our pleasures sadly? Let the Frenchmen mix with a Bank-Holiday crowd and see! Why, even at times of the utmost stress and peril, it is the gaiety of our working classes which most strikes the foreign observer.

For our soldiers are real representatives of the working classes. It may be objected that the vast majority of them are recruited from the crowds of the unemployed, and that is true. Most of them do come from the "aristocracy of labor"—the class which in poverty displays that carelessness of the morrow, that general *insouciance*, which characterizes our wealthy aristocracy and the lilies of the field. We must make some allowance for all that. But, none the less, it remains true that our soldiers have all been born of workpeople; they have been brought up as nearly all the people of England are brought up; they share the ideas and inherit or acquire the general qualities of the greater population. In a word, they represent the national temperament very fairly, and yet, in the eyes of the French troops, their most remarkable characteristic is *gaiety*.

We have all been reading the published letters from soldiers at the front, and listening to anecdotes of their behavior. Indeed, except for official notices of bygone positions, and occasional bulletins from "An Eyewitness" as to the state of the weather, a paternal Censorship has allowed us to hear little about the greatest of wars except through anecdotes and soldiers' letters. But, flimsy as such tidings are, we see in almost every word the evidence of our national character. The gaiety is obvious. It is nearly always an ironic gaiety. Indeed, we should say that a cheerful irony is the soldier's most habitual mood. It is rather unexpected, for every writer knows that, in writing for our "educated classes," there is no form of expression so dangerous as irony, so certain to be misunderstood and taken for solemn "gospel." But "the great heart of the people" as represented by the "Tommy" is habitually ironic.

His irony takes many forms. It is usually what, we believe, the pedants used to call "*meiosis*"—making too little of a thing. Our universal expression, "Not 'alf!" is an instance. Let other nations exuberate in superlatives; the ironic Briton says, "Not 'alf!" "The bullets didn't half make my heart patter," is a quotation from a soldier's letter in a former war. At Colenso, when a bullet just scraped the top of a man's head, he exclaimed, "That's a haircut, with a parting!" When Captain Lambton called one of his naval guns in Lady-smith "The Lady Anne," in compliment to his sister, the soldiers called the other "Bloody Mary"; which was a compliment to no one, not even to the gun. Of the same

irony are the standing nicknames for an enemy's guns, such as "Weary Willie," "Sorrowful Sarah," "Puffing Sal," or "Long Tom." As pet names for the terrific shells of the German howitzers in this war we know the cheerful irony of "Jack Johnson," "Old Coalbox," and "Black Maria." "Old Coughdrop" is almost universal for a deep-toned gun, and when the sailors once covered an armored train with cables for its protection, they called it "Hairy Mary."

"Don't fret yourself; you won't be a widow yet," is an instance of true affection under a mask of ironic "meiosis." Sometimes the irony runs to exaggeration, as when a soldier wrote after an offer of beer, "I nearly fainted at the name." Another instance is quoted by Mr. James Milne in his "Letters of Atkins" during the Boer War, when a Ladysmith man wrote, "We ate three regiments of cavalry." But exaggeration is not so characteristic of our race as the ironic humor of understatement. The emergency ration becomes "the imaginary ration." From the time of the Crimea the fighting has always been "the fun." (Only the other day a soldier wrote of a serious wound, "Of course, that finished my bit of fun.") And in South Africa the best Mounted Infantry were invariably known as "The Catch-'em-alive-o's."

Irony is the saving grace that delivers from sentimentality. We all know that our national danger is the sentimental. When peace breaks out, the soldier shares that danger with us, but in time of war he is protected by the irony of our working people's nature. That will not let him wallow. It saves him from the sticky marsh of gush and slop into which our writers, poets, and relief committees so easily sink. When not ironic, most of the letters, as Mr. Geoffrey Young shows by quotations in last Wednesday's "Daily News," are fettered by traditional conventions. Nearly all contain something on the model, "I write these few lines to you, hoping they will find you quite well, as they leave me at present." The present writer was early instructed that no proper letter could begin in any other way, and among workpeople nothing shakes that tradition. Most of the letters are otherwise entirely simple, just asking for news and cigarettes. "The French are very good," said one, "but we don't like their tobacco; it's not so nice as the English." That, with the repeated message not to worry, is usually all. One writer added: "I am wading in blood," though he had seen no fighting. Very likely it was irony; but Mr. Young thinks it was good manners, because the neighbors would demand a battle touch. As the soldier was Irish, that may have been so.

Sometimes, however, the letters rise to a different level. Writing of a remarkable exploit, one of the Munster Fusiliers told it thus simply and with vivid effect; the scene was at Charleroi:—

"In our battalion we had only one machine gun, while they were able to bring up columns of machine guns. But we rushed them with our rifles and bayonets, &c. As far as their rifle firing was concerned they could not hit a hay-rick. They know no more about using a bayonet than a child does about using a knitting needle. The horses were shot from under our men, and then the Uhlans tried to capture our battery. It was then that the Munsters stuck to the guns. They dashed forward with fixed bayonets, put the Germans to flight, captured some of their horses, and, as we had not horses enough to draw all the guns, we made mules of ourselves, for we were not such asses as to leave the guns to the enemy. We brought them back five miles. On the road to Charleroi the Germans had machine guns mounted on the roofs of the steepest houses and stables."

The circumstances make the following letter more stiff and serious than usual. A private in the Yorkshire

Light Infantry had been asked to tell General A. Wynn about his son's death at Landrecies:—

"Sir, these are a few of the instances which made your son liked by all his men. He was a gentleman and a soldier. The last day he was alive we had got a cup of tea in the trenches, and we asked him to have a drink. He said 'No. Drink it yourselves; you are in want of it.' And then with a smile, he added, 'We have to hold the trenches to-day.' Again, at Mons, we had been fighting all day, and someone brought a sack of pears and two loaves of bread. Lieutenant Wynn accepted only one pear and a very little bread. We noticed this. I had a small bottle of pickles in my haversack, and asked him to have some. But it was the usual answer: 'You require them yourselves.'

"Our regiment was holding the first line of trenches, and Lieutenant Wynn was told to hold the right of the company. Word was passed down to see if Lieutenant Wynn was all right, and I was just putting up my head when they hit me, and I heard from a neighbor that Lieutenant Wynn was hit through the eye and died instantly. He died doing his duty, and like the officer and gentleman he was."

How simple and unadorned and obviously honest it all is! Two scraps, not indeed of letters, but of conversation, are even more generally characteristic. The first is a Gordon Highlander's account of the fighting in general:—

"You mustn't run away with the idea (he said) that we all stand shivering or cowering under shell fire, for we don't. We just go about our business in the usual way. If it's potting at the Germans that is to the fore we keep at it, as though nothing were happening, and if we're just having a wee bit of a chat among ourselves until the Germans come up we keep at it all the same. When I got my wound in the leg it was because I got too excited in arguing with Wee Gordie Ferris, of our company, about Queen's Park Rangers and their chances this season. One of my chums was hit when he stood up to light a cigarette under fire."

The second is the story of his wound by a private of the 1st Warwick; the scene was at Mons:—

"'Come on now, lads,' said our officer, and we went running on as hard as we could. We had got to take the hill, you see, or smash the Germans that were on it. At last we got quite near—not 150 yards from the trenches. I and two pals of mine and two others got behind a hedge and started to blaze away. We lost our sick feeling then. There was one chap got hit in the face with a shrapnel bullet. 'Hurt, Bill?' I said to him. 'Good luck to the old regiment,' says he. Then he rolled over on his back."

"There was a grey German helmet over the side of the trench, with a rifle under it. I let that German have a bullet all to himself. I saw his helmet roll back and his rifle fly up. Then I got on my knees to bandage up a pal, and just as I moved there was a smash on my side. They'd got me, too, and I rolled over and thought I was done for."

Such letters and conversations make us prouder of our race than all its wealth, possessions, literature, and arts put together. When the children of our "common people" (of the vast majority in the country) can regard the extremity of peril with this queer mixture of courage, seriousness, and ironic gaiety, we know that the race as a whole is worth preserving and fighting for.

THE FLAW IN GERMAN CULTURE.

TRAVELLERS tell us of the strange contrasts found in savage culture and in the savage mind. An uncivilized race is often very attractive at first sight; the virtues of North American Indians and South Sea Islanders suggested to the abstract thinkers of the eighteenth century the figment of the state of nature as opposed to the social state, and of the superiority of uncivilized to civilized man. The sturdy common-sense of Johnson made short work of these sophistries. "Do not allow yourself,

sir, to be imposed upon by such gross absurdity. It is sad stuff; it is brutish." And closer acquaintance with savage life modified the first impressions, even of philosophers. These races had, indeed, their good points; they were often kindly, docile, intelligent, and brave. But alongside of and unreconciled with these qualities lay strange and incalculable strata—mental, moral, and temperamental. There was a Dark Continent, a Hinterland, back of the smiling shore. Their kindliness went hand in hand with hideous and indescribable cruelty, their simplicity with complex and perverse degeneracy, their piety with bloody and unclean rites. And it was impossible to foresee when this evil side would come uppermost. You never knew where to have the savage. Hell lay near heaven in him, and would break out without warning, like a spring shower or a summer storm. The power of control was wanting. *Unum tibi deest*: the words were the summing up of savage culture and the verdict on savage man.

They recur to us when we consider the manner in which the present war is being conducted by Germany, the avowed policy of the German commanders, and the orders given to and carried out by the troops under their command. To many of us, these things have been a revelation; had they been foretold to us, we should have set down the prophet as fool or knave. The debt of educated men in every country of Europe to German science, art, literature, and research is incalculable; the land of Luther and Kant, of Beethoven and Goethe, has claims upon us which no lapses on the part of a later generation can let us forget. And, apart from these *maestri di color che sanno*, the historic chivalry of the Rhine strikes the imagination; from the time of Tacitus to our own there is a unity both in the picture and in the impression which it leaves. But side by side and in sharp contrast with these gifts lies, it seems, a lower, coarser strain. We read of the massacre of unarmed civilians, of the burning of villages and the slaughter of their inhabitants. Louvain, Termonde, and Mechlin, with their noble churches and public buildings, their universities, libraries, and art treasures, are little more than heaps of bloodstained ruins. Bedouins do, civilized nations do not, make war in this way.

We may discount what we hear. We may allow for exaggeration, for bias, for inaccuracy, even for falsehood. But only the fringe of the ghastly story is affected; the facts that damn stand. The trouble is that these horrors have been neither disavowed nor condemned, nor hindered, nor prohibited. Nor can we forget that they fit in with the policy of terror which has been proclaimed in the highest quarters; and that the most flagrant instance, the firing of Reims Cathedral—that crime against civilization and humanity—was perpetrated in the light of day.

It is a tragedy, and it will be the beginning of a series of tragedies. For, human nature being what it is, it is inconceivable that it should not lead to reprisals; blood breeds blood. It is inevitable, also, that it should lead to a set-back to German culture in Europe. To the loss of culture in general, beyond question. The mischievous and ignorant letter signed "Fides," to which the "Times" of September 7th gave the honor of its largest type, is an example. But the vulgar do not draw nice distinctions; the tree, it will be argued, is known by its fruits. There is a book, once popular in Evangelical circles, called "Hymns from the Land of Luther." For a long time to come, hymns from the land of Luther will be out of fashion in this country; the land of Luther will be the very last land in the world from which we shall take our hymns. And it is difficult not to foresee a social penalty which will confound the innocent with the guilty. Our

quarrel is with German militarism, not with Germany or Germans. But the crowd does not discriminate. In the new Europe which will emerge when this tyranny is overpast, the German, it is to be feared, will find himself branded as a pariah. It is unjust, unreasonable, odious. But it will be so; and it is with the present rulers of Germany that the responsibility will lie.

Unum tibi deest. What is it that is wanting to this great people—for it is a great people—and its culture? What evil root of bitterness arrests the ripening of the fruit? The answer is that the Germans are a new people, and that civilization is a plant of slow growth. The Latin races are the aristocracy of the nations, and they have the qualities of an aristocracy—grace, charm, dignity, courage of the impetuous type—if they have also its defects—in-breeding, want of staying power, prematureness, poverty of blood. France, which is not wholly Latin, occupies an intermediate position; but Italy, Spain, and Portugal, are cases in point. Their civilization is old, their past has been splendid; but, for the time being at least, they have been eclipsed by the younger peoples and lag behind. Now Germany, since 1870, has acquired a dominating material position, a preponderance in the political and economic world, without having undergone a preliminary training in civilization. It may seem a paradox—for in no other country does birth, as such, command so much consideration—but Germany is the *parvenu* among the nations, and the Germans are the *nouveaux riches* of the modern world. Pre-Napoleonic Germany was a loose association of independent states, without community of government, interest, or (since the Reformation) religion; whose culture, great as it was, was literary and artistic, not political, and whose cultural centres were local, Weimar ranking above Vienna or Berlin. The Holy Roman Empire—which was neither holy nor Roman nor an Empire—fell before Napoleon. But the Napoleonic wars developed a national consciousness, and later the genius of a brilliant succession of Prussian statesmen and soldiers compressed the growth of centuries into a generation. Prussia took the lead in Germany, Germany in Europe, the new Empire embarked on a *Welt-politik*, and finally, in its interests, challenged the French, the Slav, and the British peoples to a conflict in which it believed, rightly, that the unfit will go under and the fit survive. What it forgets is that civilization, like religion, is a *common* property. It does not belong, still less is it confined, to any one nation; and because this is so, no one nation can impose itself or its culture on the world. History confirms this. The fate of Napoleon is eloquent against lesser men who share his ambitions.

This crudity, or newness, of German civilization shows itself in ways similar to that in which bad breeding shows itself in an ill-bred or under-bred man. He has a veneer of polish; but when he is excited, or off his guard, his speech bewrayeth him. There is a solecism, a trick of accent, a phrase, or gesture;—Bayswater borders on Belgravia, Whitechapel underlies Mayfair. Sovereigns are representative, and only in one European nation can we conceive the sovereign indulging in the rhetoric of the Mailed Fist or the Shining Armor, or speaking of the Gospel of his own Sacred Person, or claiming the Deity as the old ally of his dynasty—a sort of private chaplain, a faithful, if humble, friend. There is a want of proportion about this sort of thinking; the perspective is wrong. The same temper shows itself in small things, e.g., in table manners—we read of a distinguished man who, on principle, eats peas with his knife, because refinement is unmanly; in loudness of voice and vehemence of gesticulation; in the free vent given to emotion or natural impulse; in the curious demonstrativeness of

conjugal affection, which exhibits itself in public places effusively, without restraint or reserve. The foreigner smiles at these national peculiarities, but they have their cause and their significance; the outer is the key to the inner man. Civilization means *self* restraint, *self* suppression, *self* criticism. No one is more disciplined than the German, but he is disciplined by the soldier's sabre and the policeman's cane. This is not *self* discipline. And a man whose discipline is imposed by the police, not by his own sense of what is becoming, is uncivilized. When the policeman, who cannot be everywhere, fails him, he runs riot, with the results that we see.

Unum tibi deest. Nations, like men, have their calling. To their peril and to the common loss do they transgress its limits. Neither Israel nor Greece, *e.g.*, was called to be a World Power. In the case of each the attempt to play this part broke down. Their destiny was other and greater; the one was the bearer of the religious, the other of the artistic—the creative or poetic—idea. Does the same hold good of the German people? Is its supremacy in the realm, not of matter, but of mind? If this be so, the path of brute force must be retraced at all costs. The renunciation of the false calling is the first condition of the realization of the true. Temporal power is a disqualification for spiritual leadership: "Thou shalt not build a house for my name, because thou hast been a man of war, and hast shed blood." The Papacy has forgotten this, hence its decadence; the German Empire has denied it, hence the imminent danger in which it stands. In each case the truest friends to the imperilled institution are those who would recall it to its original vocation and replace it on its native lines.

Letters to the Editor.

THE LABOR PARTY AND THE WAR.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—The article in your last issue—"The Image of the Mountain Peaks"—contains some grossly inaccurate statements which seriously reflect upon the Labor Party, and which are as follow:—

1. "There has been a disappointing apathy in quarters where special responsibilities exist. The Labor Party seems to think that it has no duties outside recruiting speeches, and it has been left to the others to fight the battle for the decent treatment of soldiers and sailors."

2. "Similarly the whole question of unemployment, the fate of the great numbers in distress, the future of Trade Unions threatened by a great strain on their funds—these questions have received very little attention from the politicians who are sent to Parliament specially to speak for the working classes."

3. "The first effect of the war seems to have been to paralyze whatever constructive energy the Labor Party possessed."

As a regular reader of THE NATION, having been struck with its general reliability, and knowing something of the activities of the Labor Party, I read the above statements with considerable astonishment. The position your article expresses is such a reflection on the Labor Party that unless they can be controverted the Party would be deserving of a much stronger censure than the statements quoted above contain. That they are not true either in substance or in fact I beg the hospitality of your columns in order that your readers may know.

The first suggestion is that of "disappointing apathy." This cannot be applied to any section of the Labor Movement, for in spite of difference of opinion there is no section that is not wholeheartedly engaged in social and relief work in connection with the war, as the following particulars will show, and it may safely be claimed that no section of the community acted so promptly as did the Labor Party.

On Monday, August 3rd, it was fairly obvious that war could not be averted, and on Wednesday, August 5th, a representative conference was held at the House of Commons to consider the unfortunate position in which an increasing number of workers both men and women as well as their children would find themselves as a result of the outbreak of hostilities. The Conference and its Executive at once urged Labor, Socialist, Co-operative, and Women's Organizations to take immediate steps to stimulate the formation of Local Committees to consider the needs of the various localities and to co-ordinate the distribution of relief as may be required; to bring pressure upon Distress Committees under the Unemployed Workmen Act urging them to expedite schemes of public works for the utilization of surplus labor; to urge Local Education Committees to mitigate the sufferings of school children through hunger by the adoption of the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, including the amending legislation just passed through the efforts of the Labor Party; to make special representations to Health Committees with respect to the milk supply, in order that there should be no lack of nourishment for infants, nursing mothers, children, and the sick. The Conference also urged that the Government and municipal authorities should adopt measures for officially controlling the purchase and storing of food, the fixing of maximum prices of food and trade necessities, and distribution of food. The Government were also urged to appoint a committee to co-ordinate the efforts of Government Departments, local authorities, and other employers, to maintain the aggregate volume of employment by keeping their staffs at the fullest possible strength, and, if circumstances permitted, to undertake additional enterprises in order to prevent the occurrence of as much unemployment as possible.

On August 6th the National Executive of the Labor Party met to consider the crisis, and agreed that all Labor and Socialist organizations should concentrate upon the task of carrying out the resolutions passed at the special conference, with a view to mitigating the destitution which would inevitably overtake the working people whilst the state of war lasts. The Executive created by the Special War Conference has met at least once each week since August 5th, and its officials have been compelled to increase the already great amount of work devolving upon them by the addition of the responsibilities of a new department. Of the activities of the War Emergency Committee almost any Government Department can speak from a lively experience, and Labor and Socialist organizations have been assisted to obtain representation on local committees. Moreover, it is a mistake to conclude that Labor members are confining their efforts to recruiting speeches. Many of them are seriously grappling with the unemployed question as affecting the membership and funds of their trade unions. Others are members of Government Committees, such as the Cabinet Committee, the Prince of Wales's Executive, the Housing Committee, &c.

The statement is made that the Labor Party left it to "others to fight the battle for decent treatment of soldiers and sailors." This accusation made against the Labor Members of Parliament is also without justification, as a reference to the Parliamentary Reports fairly shows. From the outbreak of the war, hardly a single sitting of Parliament took place without one or more Labor Members drawing attention to various aspects closely concerning the working classes. A member of the Labor Party, as early as August 6th, was one of the first to draw attention to the amount of allowances to the wives and families of reservists. On numerous occasions Labor members emphasized the inadequacy of the separation allowance, and it is due in some measure to their efforts that the allowance has been increased. Labor members have attended recruiting meetings, but they have not contented themselves with appealing to the youth of the country to enlist; they have also taken the opportunity at those meetings of creating and strengthening a public opinion that the wives and families of our soldiers shall be well treated, and that we shall not again have the spectacle of crippled soldiers and sailors, with their dependents, forced to accept Poor-Law relief.

The Party also pressed for the passage of its Bill to legalize the feeding of school children on days when the schools do not meet, and this will provide valuable

machinery for preventing hunger amongst the children, not only of our soldiers and sailors, but of our industrial workers who may be workless. Probably the most serious charge against the Labor Party is "that the whole question of unemployment, the fate of the great numbers of people already in distress, the future of trade unions threatened by a great strain on their funds, these questions have received very little attention from the politicians who are sent to Parliament specially to speak for the working-classes." The answer to the first part of this charge has already been given, and I now desire to reply specifically to that regarding the neglect of the interests of the trade unions. What is the real position? On Monday, August 24th, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions, and the National Executive of the Labor Party, met to consider the position of the unions with regard to unemployment owing to the war crisis. A memorandum dealing with the position, prepared by the undersigned, was considered, and the following resolutions were agreed upon:—

1. That an immediate effort be made to terminate all existing trade disputes, whether strikes or lock-outs, and whenever new points of difficulty arise during the war period a serious attempt should be made by all concerned to reach an amicable settlement before resorting to a strike or lock-out.

2. That the Government be requested to use its influence with the employing classes so that wherever possible there may be brought about a complete cessation of overtime in order that unemployment may be minimized. It is also suggested that short time should become operative in any trade or workshop where full time cannot be maintained rather than that the non-employment of many workers should be rendered necessary.

3. That the Government be requested to take into consideration the serious position in which trade unions must inevitably be placed if compelled to use their funds to make provision for unemployment existing during the war period, and to take steps through the provision of an appropriation grant for subsidizing the unions or by giving the necessary assistance through the local Relief Committees, which will enable all working-class citizens to obtain uniform assistance, and incidentally enable the unions to continue the payment of sick, superannuation, and similar beneficent benefits.

4. That in the event of the Government agreeing to make the necessary provision for unemployment, those unions whose rules provide for unemployment benefit agree to suspend to the extent of the weekly amount of the Government subsidy payment of this benefit during the war period, including the benefit under the Insurance Act, Part II., and to carry into effect the following proposals:—

(a) That all members of the union called up as Reservists or as Territorials, or who may volunteer for service during the war period, shall be free from the payment of contributions and levies during their service in the ranks, when absent with the colors, except where rates of pay during such service equal or exceed ordinary trade rates, but to be reinstated on application upon resumption of civil life and upon production of certificate of discharge.

(b) That the unions be recommended to urge upon their working members to subscribe liberally to the Prince of Wales's Fund.

5. That each of the National Committees appoint three delegates to form a deputation to the Prime Minister for the purpose of presenting the above resolutions for the consideration of the Government.

The deputation waited upon the Prime Minister, when the case for the Unions was fully stated. The Prime Minister in his reply intimated that all the matters brought to the notice of the Government would be most carefully and sympathetically considered. Not having received any reply, the following questions were submitted to the Prime Minister, and answered by the President of the Board of Trade on September 16th:—

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON asked whether the Government are now in a position to say what proposals, if any, they have to make for assisting the textile industry of Lancashire to overcome the difficulties arising out of the war crisis, which have resulted in an increase of unemployment, as stated by the trade union deputation on August 27th last?

MR. RUNCIMAN: The Prime Minister has asked me to answer this question. I am discussing the subject this afternoon with the representatives of the Lancashire textile unions, and I cannot make any statement to-day.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON asked the Prime Minister whether the suggestions made by the deputation representing the Trades Union Congress, the General Federation of

Trade Unions, and the Labor party, on August 27th, have been considered; and whether the Government can now say what proposals, if any, are to be adopted for assisting trade unions to deal with unemployment owing to the war crisis?

MR. RUNCIMAN: I hope to make a statement on this subject very shortly. The proposals are under discussion between the Board of Trade and the Treasury.

MR. HENDERSON: May I ask whether, in view of the very great importance of this matter to trade unions, the Government will endeavor to expedite their decision on this point?

MR. RUNCIMAN: I hope to be able to make a statement this week, and certainly at the earliest possible moment.

On September 18th, the President of the Board of Trade was again approached by me with a view to obtaining the Government decision with regard to assisting the unions. On September 22nd, he replied that he hoped to make a statement shortly, probably Thursday; but up to the time of writing no reply has been received. Sufficient has been said to disprove the charge of neglect, and also to show that no fault rests with the Labor Party, except it may be they have been too patient in awaiting the official reply. In the reply of the President of the Board of Trade on September 16th, it will be noticed that the proposals of the Government are under discussion between the Board of Trade and the Treasury.

The article complained of opened with a eulogium of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is not suggested that the eulogium was not deserved, but it is suggested that the writer of the article might explain his concern for the trade unions to the Head of the Treasury; for a little activity on the part of this Government department might lessen the "strain" on the trade unions.

The final point is that the first effect of the war has been to paralyze any constructive energy the Labor Party possess. The best reply to this is found in the last issue of the "Christian Commonwealth." "The war emergency," it says, "has disclosed unsuspected resources in the organized labor movement. At the beginning of last month, the leaders of the organized labor movement were called upon to face, with whatever courage and imagination are in them, an entirely new range of problems. It is a remarkable tribute to the experience and energy of these men that, within a week, they succeeded in applying the whole of the machinery of the movement to these tasks. In a few days, the men at the head of the Labor Movement, with characteristic resolution and insight, demonstrated their readiness to deal with the economic and social problems arising out of the war."—Yours, &c.,

ARTHUR HENDERSON.

28, Victoria Street, London, S.W.
September 30th, 1914.

[We are much obliged to Mr. Henderson for his full and interesting account of the many activities of the Parliamentary Labor Party on behalf of the workers and trade unionists under war conditions, of the full extent of which we were not aware when the article of which he complains was written. We should be the last persons to desire to under-estimate them. What we had in mind was the desirability of a broad, firm declaration of Labor policy, such, for example, as the proclamation of a minimum of £1 a week as maintenance-money for the families of the men in the field.—Ed., NATION.]

MR. WELLS'S PACIFIST STATE.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—No! I will write no more in THE NATION for a time. I admit the completest failure. I leave the field and return to my "fiction." What I have had to say in THE NATION about the war is "balderdash" if Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and the rest of advanced opinion choose to have it so. What people will not understand can never be realized, and it is as clear as daylight, from the responses I get to these few things I have said, that either I have talked wisdom to deaf ears or nonsense, and, anyhow, quite impracticable things. Mr. John Bailey crowns my conviction. I haven't the heart to argue with him; he is so entirely like everybody. He has, it seems, never heard before of that idea of public service for anyone which was first broached by another insane dreamer, an American lunatic named William James, in his "Moral Equivalent for War."

It is, says Mr. John Bailey, a "fantastically absurd proposal," and, confound it! he's right; it is in a world of Mr. John Baileys. And what does it matter if I did not suggest any sort of State control for newspapers? Mr. Bailey jumps to the conclusion that I did, and I suppose it is the normal process of the human mind to suppose that when one suggests that newspapers are bribeable, and that a financial control by the State, similar to the control exercised over banks and insurance companies, would prevent the systematic bribery of the press by a hostile power—that means a State editor. But I would as soon play croquet with Alice in Wonderland as go on with these ridiculous attempts to reason with Liberals about Liberalism. The honors are entirely with Mr. John Bailey. His world.—Yours, &c.,

H. G. WELLS.

52, St. James's Court, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
October 1st, 1914.

THE NATIONAL PENNY BANK.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—It is now more than six weeks since the National Penny Bank went into liquidation, and yet, in spite of the almost universal feeling that the State ought to render prompt assistance of some kind or other, nothing effective has been done. One hundred and forty thousand depositors, nearly all belonging to the poorer classes, have been suddenly deprived of all access to their savings, and the whole mass of petty trade which is dependent on them for existence has been brought to a standstill. Meanwhile, the *ad misericordiam* appeal of the great banks, in which were deposited the funds of the well-to-do, was listened to without delay. Within forty-eight hours, relief was given, and the credit of the State pledged to an amount which, we are told, will ultimately involve the nation in a loss of more than 50 millions sterling.

Cannot the Government be induced even now, in this matter of the National Penny Bank, to act promptly and effectively? A complete guarantee to pay the depositors in full could hardly cost more than two or three hundred thousand pounds, and might cost very much less—a small price, as it seems to me, for rehabilitating the national credit in the minds of the poorer section of the community. But if our rulers adjudge this risk too great, will they not at least guarantee the immediate payment of 10s. in the £ to the depositors, and then, after full investigation of the situation, decide how far they consider themselves justified in asking the nation to make good the deficiency in a so-called "national" bank? The really essential thing, however, is that some assistance shall be immediately forthcoming.—Yours, &c.,

F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

87, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

A PACIFIST VIEW.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—In the recent striking speeches of prominent Englishmen, reference has been made again and again to a Europe of to-morrow, to a Europe pacified, and all the speakers have been at one in proclaiming that respect for law and its triumph over brute force will mark the new era. Perhaps I may be permitted to point out that the stake involved in this frightful war, which imposes such cruel and ruinous sacrifices upon the nations engaged in it, is quite other than one of remodelling, upon new lines, European law alone. It consists in reality of the introduction into the relations between all peoples of the new principle of an obligatory respect for law. The struggle now taking place leads to the breaking for ever of the domination of one people over all the other peoples. The mad political aims of the Alexanders, the Cæsars, the Tamerlanes, the Charlemagnes, and the Napoleons did but end in miserable failure, and it is not William II., potentate without genius, who will be able to realize what his illustrious predecessors have attempted in vain. On this occasion humanity, wakened from the hypnotic sleep into which the malevolence of avaricious or megalomaniac Governments have plunged it for

centuries, will know how to build up the new world. *Novus nascitur ordo!*

It is this prevision, this anticipation, which should serve as the peroration of every speech pronounced henceforward in the free countries. It should be the master thought dominating all the acts and words of those who have, in these hours of pain and suffering, the responsibility of power.

Such a political activity must find its expression in winged words which will impress themselves upon the mentality of the masses. To the haughty Germanic *dictum*, "Deutschland über alles," must be opposed the axiom "Menschheit über alles"; and the proud device, "Britannia rules the waves," must give place to "Mankind rules the waves." The floating cities which boast, with reason, of having drawn the peoples nearer together and prepared the humanity of to-morrow are due to the untiring labor of the minds of thousands of all nations.

From our national songs also the words of hate and ill-will should disappear. It is not true, as "The Marseillaise" says, that in war the impure blood of the enemy waters the furrows. It is the generous and valiant blood, the vivifying red blood of the entire European youth which is at this moment fertilizing the soil of Belgium, Poland, and France, and which to-morrow will fertilize the fields of Germany. For the happiness and joy of future generations the noble verses of Lamartine must replace the boastful and murderous words which, in a tragic hour of invasion and revolt, inspired Rouget de Lisle.

What is wanted is to make of all countries, without suppression and without oppression, a single country—the country of all humanity, just as out of the old antagonistic and hostile provinces have arisen the modern nations. Mr. Lloyd George, in his last speech, expressed this truth—perhaps unintentionally—when he said, "A new Europe, a new world." But he passed at once to exalt anew English patriotism, and none of his words gave expression to the patriotism of humanity.

The new order—the world order—cannot come to life except by the co-operation rather than the competition of nations. The mentality of the politicians of our different countries has not, maybe, yet reached to this necessary conception. It is daring, perhaps, on my part to suggest it to them; but it is for me at once a national and an international duty, and I am certain that, in so doing, I am serving both my country and humanity. And I dream of an artist, writer and musician in one, who, in an hour of high inspiration, will give the world the poem and the melody of sovereign and fraternal beauty which to-morrow all the peoples may sing together, from Germany repentant to liberated Poland, Finland, Hungary, Bohemia, and to—Prussia.—Yours, &c.,

H. LA FONTAINE.

(Senator of Belgium, President of the International Peace Bureau.)

September 29th, 1914.

THE TREATMENT OF ENGLISHWOMEN IN GERMANY.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—As one of the "hundreds of English women who arrived last week from Berlin," commented on in your issue of September 26th, I must take exception to the statement that the unanimous testimony of these women was "that they had been treated with kindness." Considering the circumstances under which we arrived, a record of unanimity was impossible. As a constant reader of your paper and a firm believer in the just attitude invariably adopted by it, I feel somewhat ashamed that such unqualified assertions could have appeared in its columns. As a matter of fact, there were quite a number of women—the older and more observant—who could have told a very different tale had they been questioned, a different tale of their own experience as well as of the experience and suffering of those whom they were compelled to leave behind at the mercy of Prussian militarism.—Yours, &c.,

ALICE GRUNER.

(Sec., Association of University Women Teachers.)
59, Cambridge Street, Hyde Park, London, W.
September 30th, 1914.

BRITAIN AND THE BELGIAN TREATY.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—I much regret not finding myself in sympathy with the action of Messrs. Keir Hardie and R. MacDonald at the present time. They say much about secret diplomacy—with which I agree. But why did not either of them, during the last ten years, move in the House of Commons to withdraw from the Belgium Neutrality Treaty? By abstaining they seem to me to have committed themselves to war if the neutrality was broken. This was no secret diplomacy.—Yours, &c.,

C. E. ESCREET.

1, Eliot Park, Lewisham Hill, S.W.
September 26th, 1914.

THE TREATMENT OF WOMEN "ALIEN ENEMIES."

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—It is most regrettable to hear from your note last week that the International Women's Relief Committee is meeting with abuse, or worse, in its efforts to alleviate the lot of innocent "alien enemies" stranded in our midst.

There is all the more reason therefore why I should ask you to give publicity to the kind and courteous treatment of the large parties of women and girls by the officials and others at Folkestone Pier which I witnessed a day or two ago in connection with my work for the "Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians in Distress," convened by the Society of Friends. On several occasions the Flushing boat, in order to reach port by daylight, had to leave before the strict inspection of luggage and correspondence had been carried through; and in each case many bewildered women "enemies," some with children, were left behind. The attitude of police, customs officers, &c., throughout was most excellent, and every effort was made to see that the travellers were as comfortable as possible till the next day's boat came in at night, when they were allowed to go on board. A tribute must also be paid to the Dutch officers of these boats, especially in a case of illness which came under my notice, when they did everything to make the invalid comfortable.

It is well to know that ungracious behavior—to give it no harsher name—is not universal.—Yours, &c.,

H. W. P.

Sydenham.

THE REASON OF THE WAR.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—Everybody seems fighting in this war from the very highest motives. The Russians are fighting for "truth and peace," the Germans for culture and God, we ourselves "to put down German militarism." This last is an excellent reason, but I fear the emphasis is often laid rather on the adjective than on the noun. Many Englishmen regard militarism as the highest form of "a noble and imaginative patriotism," only they object to Germans exercising this virtue. I remember a Protestant lecturer saying that the principle of the Inquisition was a good one, but that, unfortunately, its application had been in the wrong hands. But what we want to destroy is militarism *per se*; *voilà l'ennemi*. Many, again, like Mr. Belloc, cherish the amiable illusion that the "atrocities" are a modernist innovation introduced by Prussian wickedness into the gallant and chivalrous game of war. To commit them (of course, under the orders of atheist Prussian officers) goes against the deepest instincts of all soldiers, drunk or sober. Well, we have read history; we know all about the chivalrous sack of Magdeburg, the gallant deeds of Alva's soldiers in the Low Countries. War itself, not merely Prussian barbarism, is what all decent and civilized human beings must resolve shall be put an end to. This is what matters: not the punishment of the Kaiser—though, personally, I should like to see it—but the ending of war. It must be stopped at the end of this war, never to be begun again; then this vile

cannibal orgy, this dull, stupid carnage, this ghastly, inhuman butchery, will not have been in vain.—Yours, &c.,

R. L. GALES.

Gedley Vicarage, Holbeach.
September 26th, 1914.

REIMS AND "REVENGE."

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—We cannot avenge Louvain and Reims by the destruction of German cathedrals and libraries, but one vow we should register, and all the civilized world will applaud—that Krupp's Works shall be blotted out from the face of the earth.—Yours, &c.,

W. H. SEDDON.

Vicarage, Painswick, Glos.

Poetry.

FIVE SOULS.

FIRST SOUL.

I WAS a peasant of the Polish plain;
I left my plough because the message ran:—
Russia, in danger, needed every man
To save her from the Teuton; and was slain.
I gave my life for freedom—This I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

SECOND SOUL.

I WAS a Tyrolese, a mountaineer;
I gladly left my mountain home to fight
Against the brutal, treacherous Muscovite;
And died in Poland on a Cossack spear.
I gave my life for freedom—This I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

THIRD SOUL.

I worked in Lyons at my weaver's loom,
When suddenly the Prussian despot hurled
His felon blow at France and at the world;
Then I went forth to Belgium and my doom.
I gave my life for freedom—This I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

FOURTH SOUL.

I owned a vineyard by the wooded Main,
Until the Fatherland, begirt by foes
Lusting her downfall, called me, and I rose
Swift to the call—and died in fair Lorraine.
I gave my life for freedom—This I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

FIFTH SOUL.

I worked in a great shipyard by the Clyde.
There came a sudden word of wars declared,
Of Belgium, peaceful, helpless, unprepared,
Asking our aid: I joined the ranks, and died.
I gave my life for freedom—This I know:
For those who bade me fight had told me so.

W. N. EWER.

The World of Books.

THE "NATION" OFFICE, THURSDAY NIGHT.

THE following is our weekly selection of books which we commend to the notice of our readers:—

- "George the Third and Charles Fox." Vol. II. By Sir G. O. Trevelyan. (Longmans. 7s. 6d. net.)
 "Impressions and Comments." By Havelock Ellis. (Constable. 6s. net.)
 "The Life of Lord Roberts." By Sir George Forrest. (Cassell. 16s. net.)
 "Party Government in the United States of America." By W. M. Sloane. (Harper. 7s. 6d. net.)
 "Famous Reviews." Edited by R. Brimley Johnson. (Pitman. 7s. 6d. net.)
 "Industrial Training." By N. B. Dearle. (P. S. King. 7s. 6d. net.)
 "Memoirs of Youth (1847-1860)." By Giovanni Visconti Venosta. (Constable. 12s. 6d. net.)
 "Famous Land Fights." By A. H. Atteridge. (Methuen. 6s. net.)
 "Maurice Maeterlinck." By Una Taylor. (Secker. 7s. 6d. net.)
 "Robert Bridges." By F. E. Brett Young. (Secker. 7s. 6d. net.)
 "How Germany Makes War." By F. von Bernhardi. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. net.)
 "Social Life in Australia." By E. Ramsay-Laye. (Grant Richards. 6s.)
 "Jewish Life in Modern Times." By Israel Cohen. (Methuen. 10s. 6d. net.)
 "The German Enigma." By Georges Bourdon. (Dent. 2s. 6d. net.)
 "The Price of Love." By Arnold Bennett. (Methuen. 6s.)
 "Tributaries." (Constable. 6s.)
 "When Thoughts All Soar." A Romance of the Immediate Future. By Baroness Bertha von Suttner. (Constable. 6s.)

THERE are grounds for hope that the autumn publishing season will not be nearly so disastrous as was feared in the first days of the war. The cheap books intended to throw light on the political conditions that produced the conflict or to describe its early stages have been very successful, and on all sides one sees copies of Bernhardi's "Germany and the Next War," Cramb's "Germany and England," the popular edition of Prince von Bülow's "Imperial Germany," Usher's "Pan-Germanism," Dr. Hamelius's "The Siege of Liège," and the war-books issued for the "Daily Telegraph" by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton. Oddly enough, Treitschke, whose name is held up for reprobation in our newspapers every day, has had none of his books translated into English. Yet, according to those whose judgments have weight, Treitschke was undoubtedly a great historian. Writing in 1886, Lord Acton pronounced him to be "the one writer of history who is more brilliant and powerful than Droysen." "He writes," Acton continued, "with the force and fire of Mommsen, of a time remembered by living men, and pregnant with the problems that are still open. He marshals his forces on a broader front than any other man, and accounts for the motives that stir the nation, as well as for the councils that govern it."

I HAVE had the curiosity to look up the biographical article on Treitschke in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," and I find that Mr. J. W. Headlam also formed a high view of the value of Treitschke's historical work. His "History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century," Mr. Headlam says, "shows extreme diligence, and scrupulous care in the use of authorities. It is discursive and badly arranged, but it is marked by a power of style, a vigor of narrative, and a skill in delineation of character which give life to the most unattractive period of German history; notwithstanding the extreme spirit of partisanship and some faults of taste, it will remain a remarkable monument of literary ability." And Mr. G. P. Gooch, in his learned book "History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century," says that Treitschke's "History" is "one of the greatest historical works of the century."

A GLANCE through the lists of announcements shows that quite a number of promising books are almost ready for publication. Some of these will be held over until next year, but there is every prospect that a fair proportion will be issued during the present autumn. In all probability the outstanding historical work of the season is the second volume of Sir George Otto Trevelyan's "George the Third and Charles Fox," which is reviewed on another page.

Except for Sir George Trevelyan's book and the eighth volume of Mr. J. W. Fortescue's "History of the British Army," to come from Messrs. Macmillan, there are few notable announcements that can be classified under history. Prince Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich's "The Servian People," which Mr. Werner Laurie has in the press, is the first full and accurate account of the Servian people to appear in English, and certainly comes at a most opportune moment. Equally opportune is Mr. G. E. Mitton's descriptive volume on "Austro-Hungary," to be published by Messrs. A. & C. Black. In ecclesiastical history, Messrs. Simpkin announce a translation of the late M. Paul Thureau-Dangin's "The English Catholic Revival of the Nineteenth Century," and Messrs. Longmans have almost ready "The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation" by Monsignor Bernard Ward.

BIOGRAPHY, especially historical biography, is much better represented than history. "The Life of John Wilkes" by Mr. Horace Blackley, "George Bubb Doddington, Lord Melcombe" by Mr. Lloyd Sanders, and a translation by Mr. Rudolf Blind of Alfred Schirskauer's "Ferdinand Lassalle," are all to be found in Mr. John Lane's list. Messrs. Putnam will add to their "Heroes of the Nations" series books on "Isabella the Catholic" by Miss Irene Plunkett and "Alfred the Great" by Miss Beatrice Lees. Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co. have in preparation Sir Sidney Lee's "Life of King Edward VII.," Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's "M memoir of Arthur John Butler," and "General Pichegru's Treason" by Major Sir John Hall, as well as a biography of Gainsborough, containing much fresh material brought together by Mr. W. T. Whitley. Lastly, Messrs. Macmillan announce "The Life of Sir John Lubbock, First Lord Avebury" by Mr. Horace Hutchinson, while Messrs. Cassell have just published Sir George Forrest's "Life of Lord Roberts."

FOR some years past there has been in this country a decided increase in the number of biographical and critical studies of famous writers. Mr. Martin Secker deserves credit for his enterprise in issuing such books, and I notice that his autumn list contains "Bernard Shaw: A Critical Study" by Mr. P. P. Howe, and "R. L. Stevenson: A Critical Study" by Mr. Frank Swinnerton, in addition to the volumes on Maeterlinck and Mr. Robert Bridges, published last week. Maeterlinck's famous compatriot, Emile Verhaeren, is the subject of a volume by Stefan Zweig, which Mr. Jethro Bithell has translated from the German for Messrs. Constable. This is the first critical study of Verhaeren to be published in this country, though not a few critics believe him to be one of the greatest living poets who employ the French tongue. In force of expression and power to grip the mind, there are few modern poems that equal some of those in "Les Flamandes" and "Les Villes Tentaculaires." The same publishers are also issuing translations of M. Emile Faguet's books on "Flaubert" and "Balzac." M. Faguet has become so prolific a writer that a couple of months ago one of his fellow Academicians wondered how M. Faguet could possibly find time to read all that he wrote.

MOST readers, at any rate most readers who care about literature, will regard Mr. W. B. Yeats's "Memory Harbour: A Reverie on My Childhood and Youth" as the most promising among the announcements of books of an autobiographical character. It will be published by the Cuala Press, whose fame for good printing and general excellence of book production is due to Mr. Yeats's sisters. Two other volumes of reminiscences, fortunate in their moment of publication, are "Memories of Forty Years" by Princess Radziwill, and "The Sunny Side of Diplomatic Life" by Madame de Hegermann-Lindencrone. Princess Radziwill reports her conversations with Bismarck, Bülow, Moltke, and Hohenlohe, as well as with British statesmen, including Gladstone, Beaconsfield, Lord Morley, and Mr. Asquith. Madame Lindencrone's volume is a sequel to her "In Courts of Memory," and gives fresh glimpses of the diplomatic world in Paris, Berlin, Rome, and Copenhagen. Princess Radziwill's book will be published by Messrs. Cassell, and Madame Lindencrone's by Messrs. Harper.

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Reviews.

THE MIDDLE YEARS OF FOX

"George the Third and Charles Fox." Vol. II. By the Right Hon. Sir GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN. (Longmans. 7s. 6d. net.)

A CERTAIN melancholy interest attaches to the appearance of this volume. It marks the completion of a great task begun seventeen years ago. In 1897, Sir George Trevelyan withdrew from active politics in order to concentrate all his energies on the story of the American Revolution and the great controversies and consequences in which it involved the politics of the Mother Country. The historian who consecrated himself to this task had set the world of eighteenth-century politics in a new and vivid light by his fascinating study of the society in which the escapades of the youthful Fox seemed scarcely less important than the fortunes of governments and the quarrels of nations. Most of Sir George Trevelyan's readers would have wished particularly that he had chosen to tell the full story of Fox's career. The historian who otherwise; hence it comes that this volume only brings us to the eve of the momentous blunder that had such desperate results for the Whig Party and the greater causes to which it was attached. We can well believe that that topic would have been almost intolerably distressing to a writer who follows the fortunes of the Whig opposition to the American War with as eager and intimate a sympathy as a politician would bestow to-day on the fortunes of the Home Rule cause. But on all the vexed questions that are raised by the controversies that lie just beyond this volume, and on all the eager speculations that pursue the fortunes of parties and of men in the next twenty years, Sir George Trevelyan would speak with an authority to which no other historian can pretend.

Sir George Trevelyan says in his preface that it is for others to say whether his task has been done well or ill. It will be the universal verdict of his age that no one else living has his qualifications for that task. It is not only that his style and his treatment are his own special and distinctive properties. No one else knows or cares half so much about that particular generation of the English aristocracy whose follies and achievements occupy his pages. Perhaps in nothing does Sir George Trevelyan resemble his famous uncle more closely than in the keen personal interest with which he follows the fortunes of the powerful families of the time. As we read his pages, the whole world seems to revolve round their engaging frivolities, as well as round their patriotic exertions.

It might seem strange to some readers that a historian who can assimilate so successfully the Whig spirit, who can read the history of England with such ardor and sympathy in the history of the Whig noble families, has eluded the fate of the Whig politicians. How has he escaped the clouds that have settled on the great Whig names? Here, again, the nephew resembles the uncle. As we read the debates on the Reform Bill, Macaulay seems to represent better than anybody else the limited and cautious and unimaginative outlook of the men of 1832 on the politics of their country. For all of them the basis of society was property; they all assumed that if those whose boots pinched had any say in the government of society, the whole system of civilized government would be destroyed by ignorant and unthinking persons who did not understand that suffering was inevitable, and that any drastic attempt to mend the arrangements of Nature would only increase that suffering to an infinite extent. But even in Macaulay's speeches we come upon a passage in which the speaker explains that though universal suffrage would mean ruin in 1832, society might so change with education and progress as to make universal suffrage a desirable institution. His nephew, with all his ardent sympathies for the Whigs, has never belonged to the finality school. He was a leader of the movement for enfranchising the agricultural laborer, and he has been the constant friend of woman suffrage.

During the last phase of the great struggle with America, the subject of this book, the fortunes of the nation passed through their darkest hour. The nation has rarely been in greater danger. Sir George Trevelyan has an apt parallel

between the position of Napoleon wasting his strength in his fatal challenge to the national spirit of Spain, and that of England wearing herself out in a struggle not less fatal with her own colonists at imminent risks from France, Spain, and Holland. "It was the sporadic and untiring resistance of the Spanish provinces which consumed those multitudes of French veterans whose presence at the critical moment on the battlefields of Saxony and Silesia might have turned the tide of war and saved the throne of Napoleon." So with England in 1781. The insatiable demands of the American War were exhausting the power of the nation face to face with a combination of enemies that demanded its full strength and all its resources. The country, slow to recognize that any task on which it had entered was hopeless, only learnt by slow degrees that the courage and endurance of the American colonists were more than a match for the obstinacy of the most stubborn King. Sir George Trevelyan traces the last episodes in that great and victorious struggle for liberty. The obstinacy of the King, the good nature of Lord North, the system of corruption and intimidation, and the disastrous accident of the Lord George Gordon Riots (Sir George Trevelyan shows how serious an effect they had upon domestic politics) delayed the repentance of the nation. But for several months before the fall of Lord North, public opinion, both inside and outside of Parliament, was clearly on the side of the Opposition. Those were probably the happiest months in the lives of all the Whig leaders. Burke saw his plans for a stable Government, relying on the power of his darling aristocracy, taking shape and strength every day. Fox had lived down the frivolous and insolent beginnings of his great career, and was rapidly making himself the champion of the forward-looking men of his party and of the nation. Sir George Trevelyan suggests that the young Pitt himself, who was to taste the triumphs of the most commanding place in Europe, never found so much enjoyment in his life in the House of Commons as in those days when he was Fox's ally in the most merciless and the most irresponsible of Parliamentary campaigns. Happiness, the happiness of youth, promise, combat, a clear and unclouded conscience, and the delights of a society arranged with uncommon success for the pleasure and the exploits of the youth of the favored world—was the mark of those months in the life of these men. They were not the greatest days in the life of Fox, but they were the most radiant chapter in the history of the party that he led. The Rockingham Government, which carried out in its brief life the programme that Burke and Fox had prepared in Opposition, settled some of the great standing questions of English politics in the best spirit of the Whig Party.

It is on these achievements that the curtain falls. If Sir George Trevelyan can be induced to write another volume, he will tell the story of the fatal quarrel of Fox and Shelburne, with its consequences of the Coalition, and its calamitous results both for Fox and for Pitt. Sir George Trevelyan, looking ahead to this catastrophe, allows himself one bitter reflection. After describing the duels between Colonel Fullarton and Lord Shelburne, and William Adam and Fox, he observes: "The quiet member of the Whig Party, who was more concerned about the welfare of his cause than about the ambitions and susceptibilities of his leaders, might have been pardoned for thinking that it would have been no such terrible calamity if either Colonel Fullarton's or Mr. Adam's pistol had carried the bullet home."

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betray the amateur, the uneducated, the popular, or the unsophisticated writer. No; he will give you a smooth, comfortable tale, never very ambitious or profound, but never the achievement of a man of letters who is not also a man of literary parts. For all that, one feels that there is something wrong with him; that, in spite of his admirable front, you have only to look behind his fortifications (these inevitable war similes!) to find that his mental commissariat is not quite so orderly and complete as he would like you to think. Take his latest romance—an elaborate essay upon the England of Charles II. Most of it is devoted to an infallible survey of the Titus Oates and Rye House plots from the point of view of a secret Catholic emissary from Rome and a trusted servant of the King. A "love interest" threads rather irrelevantly through this fabric of intrigue, and there are some intimate sketches of the King, the Duke of York, Monmouth, and the Duchess of Portsmouth. The architecture of plot is as painstaking as it well could be; the portraiture, if not original, is accurate and rational, and the author—*rara avis*—is never at odds with historical verisimilitude. And it is rather refreshing to have Stuart England regarded from the Catholic instead of from the eternally Protestant angle of vision. And yet one feels in one's bones that Monsignor Benson, for all his learning and experience, has failed to visualize the peculiar atmosphere of the Restoration. It does not matter so much that he tends to sentimentalize the figure of Charles (was there ever a more hard-headed and less sentimental king than Charles?), and that we are told the qualities of his hero, without ever being able to feel them; these are individual blemishes. But, difficult as it is to label one's dissatisfaction, we can arrive at a rough-and-ready definition of it. What Monsignor Benson lacks is a sense of imaginative atmosphere—the sense of receptivity, which, without compromising with personality, can fuse that personality with a kind of perception outside of it. In other words, Monsignor Benson is not an artist but an observer.

For Mr. Packard's company, we leave Whitehall, England, for the Bowery, New York; we throw off the velvet cloak for an irreverent motley. "The Miracle Man" is a frankly outrageous book, full of *pteaesque* figures, squirting streams of eager slang, like tobacco juice from the lips of a facetious sailor. "The Miracle Man," we felt, had about as much relation to art as to asparagus; but, no matter, if the style reminded us of fried fish and chip potatoes, the matter was lively and ingenious. So we thought, as we followed the scheme of "Doc" Madison, Helena, "Pale Face Harry," and "The Flopper," to exploit the venerable Patriarch (who cures all ills by faith alone), and thereby makes a fortune beyond the wildest dreams of the most accomplished sharper. So we thought, as we arrived at the picturesque ivy-grown cottage of the Patriarch, and saw the ball so merrily rolling. But it is no good; there is no more health in Mr. Packard. For, if you please, the Patriarch not only cures American citizens of their maladies, but our four rogues of their entertaining rascalities. They all become highly respectable mystics, and Helena and "Doc" Madison even go so far as to marry, to take a cottage in the country, and to live godly, sober, and righteous lives ever afterwards. It is too much, and we close the book invoking fire from Heaven upon that Moloch of American sentimentalism, which, not content with its victories over the conventional, must gather into its insatiable maw even the heartiest and hardiest of agreeable ruffians.

Everyone knows what Mr. Pett Ridge is like, and there are few who do not appreciate his qualities of crisp vivacity, ready invention, and vivid characterization, when they are at their best. It is all the more surprising therefore that

"The Happy Recruit" should be such an obvious, stale, and laborious affair. It sparkles only in patches, and even that alert lucidity, which is one of Mr. Pett Ridge's best points, has been dulled. The story itself, which concerns the adventures of a German boy, Carl Siemens, in Cockney Land, is none too clear, and the characters none too sharply defined. And the humor has gone a little rusty. "The Happy Recruit" makes one suspect that Mr. Pett Ridge's talents are better adapted to the short story than the novel.

The Week in the City.

DURING the last few days evidence has accumulated of the difficulties caused throughout the New World by the closing of the European capital markets. The Government loan which has been given to the South African Dominion has whetted the appetites of other Colonies, and an Australian Premier has already asked for similar assistance. It will be surprising if Canada does not do the same. Happily, Argentina is still paying its coupons, and the United States will get through its difficulties somehow. Turkey, however, must be written off as bankrupt—though, if it is not dragged into the war, it will no doubt be able to continue to pay some part of its debt interest. Thursday's Bank Return showed some further increase in the gold strength, which is now greater than at any previous time in our history. It is indeed curious that gold should be almost a drug in the market after all the fears expressed by bankers about the smallness of our gold reserve in time of peace. Money remains plentiful, and the Government will no doubt be able to continue to finance the war for some time further by means of Treasury Bills. Enormous orders for khaki cloth, &c., have greatly improved the woollen and worsted trade.

THE FUTURE OF BRAZIL.

Brazil seems to be going through a somewhat similar crisis to that which assailed Argentina in 1890; but, in the present instance, the crisis has been precipitated by outside events. The failure to raise a loan has caused default upon the coupons of Brazil's external debt, and has prevented the Government from meeting other liabilities, of which one of the most important was its liability on account of the Madeira Mamoré Railway. The country has relapsed to a currency of inconvertible paper instead of a gold exchange standard, which, though not very long established, was working quite decently. The railways, and all other Brazilian enterprises, will collect their receipts in Brazilian currency; but this is not acceptable externally at present at any price, and will probably only be negotiable at a heavy discount. The flow of capital to Brazil will thus be practically stopped. Already two of the Brazil Railway Company's subsidiaries have intimated their inability to pay the coupons on their bonds, and as these lines have been financed, and their obligations guaranteed, by the Brazil Railway, this may be a preliminary to an announcement of inability to meet any obligation on the part of the parent company. The company has been financed mainly by French bankers, but a fair amount of its bonds are held in this country. Proposals are to be put before the holders of the bonds on which default has already been announced, and possibly this will be held up until a scheme embracing the whole project can be formulated. The practical certainty that the present state of affairs would arise must have been patent to the directors as soon as war broke out.

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